

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY Illustrated REVIEW OF REVIEWS

May 1898

Edited by ALBERT SHAW

Our War with Spain

THE EDITOR'S ACCOUNT:

The Crisis Reached at Last—Cuba's Charter of Freedom—The Real Result of the "Maine"—The President's Message—Spain's Attitude—Our Preparations for War—The Financiers' Struggle at Washington—"Business" Has a Right to Its Argument.

Many Portraits, Maps, and other Illustrations.

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The Isolation of the United States—On Increasing the Army—Financiering for War—Harbor Obstructions and Submarine Mines.

The War Cartoons of the Month: Spanish and American.

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One with Russia—Ratified; One with Denmark—Deferred.
By W. MARTIN JONES.

KUROPATKIN: WAR LORD OF RUSSIA.

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THE LATE ANTON SEIDL.

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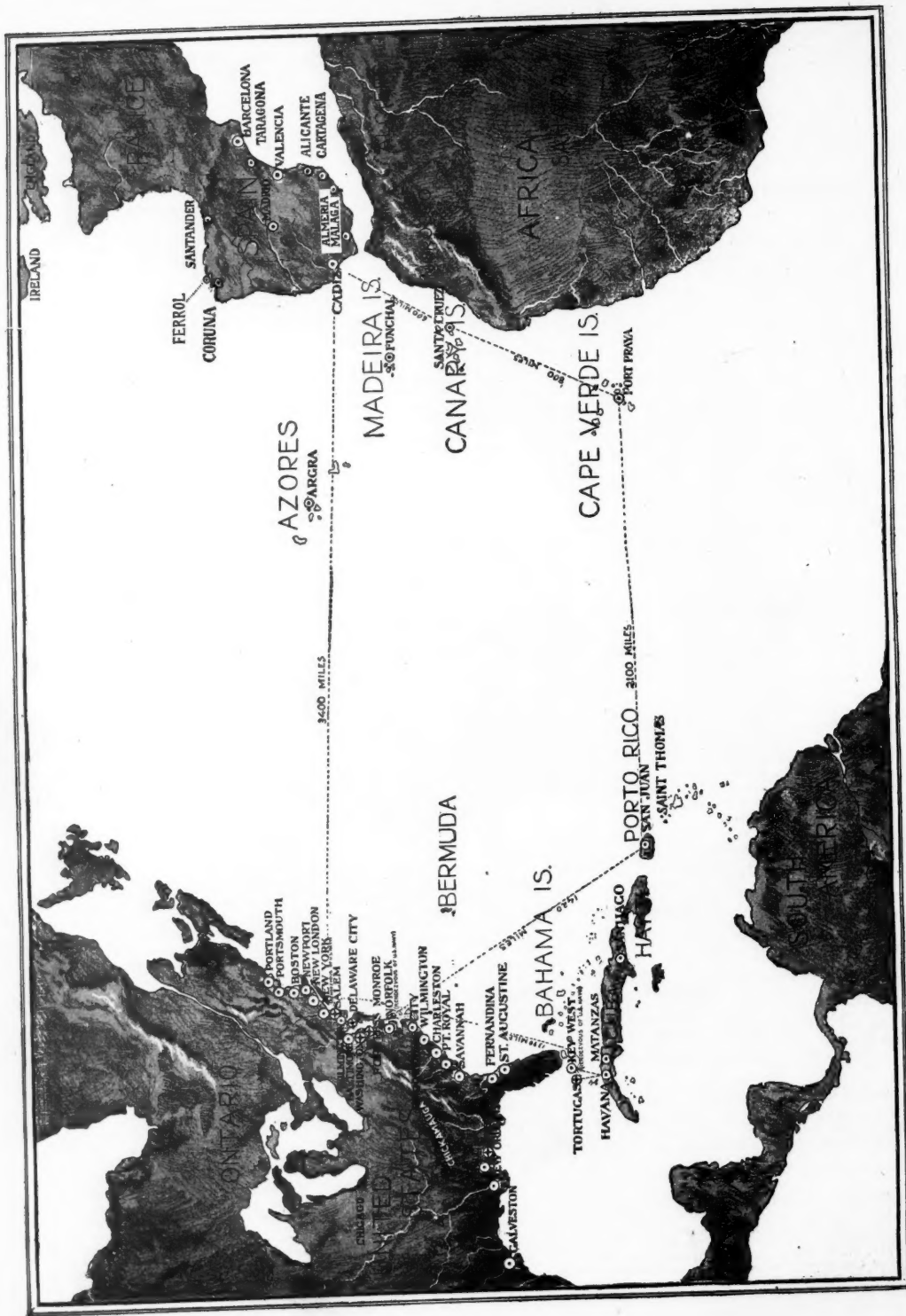
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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE NAVAL AND MILITARY SITUATION.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XVII.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1898.

No. 5.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Cuba's
Charter
of Freedom.* In the small hours of the morning of April 19 the two houses of Congress adopted a preamble and resolutions under the following title :

Joint resolution for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.

The full text of the momentous declaration which bears the foregoing legal title may well be put on record herewith :

WHEREAS, The abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battleship, with two hundred and sixty of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, and cannot longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited ; therefore be it resolved :

First—That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second—That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth—That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

*A Memorable
April 19.*

The resolution was signed by President McKinley on the morning of the next day, April 20, the Cabinet having meanwhile advised him in the drafting of an ultimatum to Spain, which was immediately cabled. The ultimatum informed the Spanish Government of the nature of the joint resolutions, and gave three days within which Spain might decide to meet our demands and avoid a war. In any event, the passage of these resolutions marked the end of Spanish sovereignty in Cuba. The real independence day that the Cubans will celebrate in time to come will be the 19th day of April. It is true that there was no reason whatever to believe that Spain would yield to the ultimatum without at least some show of fight, and there can never be a show of fight without the danger of serious loss on both sides. Nor can any country that draws its sword against another foretell how soon it may turn again to its plowshares. Nevertheless, it is true for Cuba that the long-desired boon of independence was perfectly assured when Mr. McKinley signed the joint resolution declaring that the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent. The events of the 19th and 20th of April came as the culmination of a period of many days' discussion that was at times exceedingly violent, yet which upon the whole disclosed a remarkable unanimity about the essential fact that Spain had inevitably forfeited Cuba.

*Impressive
Unanimity
at Washington.*

There was no radical difference to be overcome between the views of the President and those of Congress, nor was there any really vital antagonism between the prevailing opinions of the two legislative chambers. There were, of course, a few so-called peace-at-any-price men. Their point of view seemed altogether an anachronism, because for the most part they were raising questions that the American people had asked and answered as

long ago as the year 1896. The protests they were making in the month of April, 1898, ought to have been made when the Republican National Convention at St. Louis, in the summer of 1896, unanimously adopted the independence of Cuba as one of the planks in its platform; while the Democratic National Convention at Chicago committed itself almost, if not quite, as explicitly. Ever since the Cuban revolution broke out in the early weeks of the year 1895, there has been a growing determination in the minds and hearts of the American people that this time the Spaniards must go. They saw that we had erred in failing to liberate Cuba at some time in the course of the ten years' struggle that was ended twenty years ago under promises of reform on Spain's part which were never fulfilled; and they were inwardly resolved not to repeat the mistake.

*The "Peace Men"
Awoke a Year
Too Late.*

Even if the peace-at-any-price men had been justified in ignoring the actions of the great national conventions almost two years ago, there can be no excuse, from their own point of view, for the silence they kept when President Cleveland in his elaborate discussion of the Cuban question in his message of December, 1896, declared that he saw no prospect of an early termination of the Cuban struggle, and that the United States might in the near future have to recognize "higher obligations" than the duty of neutrality to Spain, and intervene to save the island from absolute ruin. This, let it be remembered, was before the reconcentration policy of General Weyler had wrought its mature results. Since Mr. Cleveland's prophetic message, the situation has grown steadily worse; and the tide of moral indignation in the United States has risen higher and higher. And yet there are educated people in the United States—most of them, it would seem, residing in the city of New York—whose bewilderment and surprise in the middle of April, 1898, showed plainly that they had never for one moment been aware that the Cuban question had so much as existed for anybody in the United States except for the readers of what they were pleased to call the "yellow journals"—which journals they had sedulously excluded from their clubs as well as from their homes. They were as ignorant, in fact, of the actual state of American opinion as were Marie Antoinette and the lighter element of the French court as late as June, 1789, that a really serious revolution was impending. This particular sort of innocence did not, of course, play any influential part at Washington last month. The small group of men who struggled ably to the very last to prevent intervention were perfectly well informed and knew exactly what they

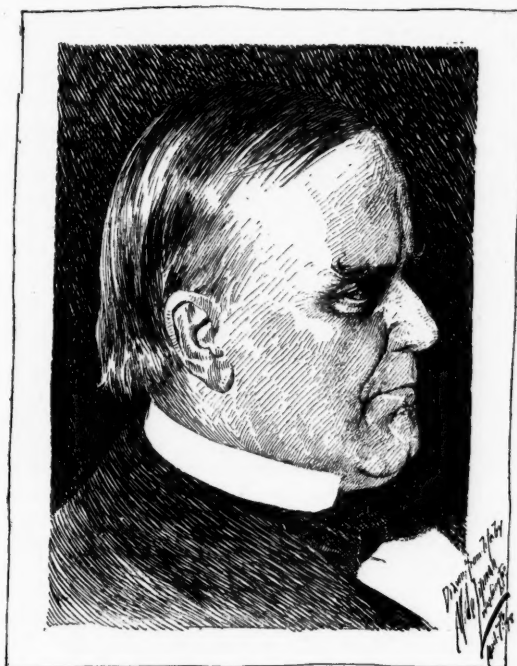
were about. They represented the so-called "business interests" set in motion by the Rothschilds. But they were only a handful. Apart from them, it was agreed that Cuba must be relieved, even at the expense of a war on our part.

*The "Maine"
Incident
Caused Delay,
Not Haste.*

It has been frequently remarked that the disaster to the *Maine* had precipitated the crisis that led to the climax of April 19–21 much sooner than we should otherwise have reached the point of intervention by force. This, however, may at least be questioned. We had sent our warships to the vicinity of Cuba in the middle of January, apparently with the intention of presenting an ultimatum at a very early day. The whole country—always excepting Wall Street and that peculiar element of educated persons who are apparently never able to understand things until they have receded into historical prospective—was ready for action on grounds of humanity. As a preparation for a vigorous policy, the President had collected from our consuls in Cuba a great mass of reports confirming all the assertions of the newspapers about the starvation of the *reconcentrados*. Congress had called for these reports, and the President was just on the eve of giving them to the Senate and to the world, when the news of the *Maine* explosion came. The excitement caused by that event led the President to defer making public the consular reports. It was feared that the reports, plus the *Maine* disaster, would lead Congress to declare war on the instant. And so there followed the anxious period of suspense while the Naval Board was making its tedious inquiry. On March 28, more than forty days after the explosion, the President transmitted the report of the Naval Board to Congress, with a brief message, in which he said that he could not permit himself to doubt that "the sense of justice of the Spanish nation would dictate a course of action suggested by honor and the friendly relations of the two governments."

*The Long-
Awaited
Message.*

It was understood that the transmission of this report of the Naval Board, which pointed to culpable negligence, if not direct complicity, on the part of the Spanish authorities, would soon be followed by an elaborate and vigorous message from the President dealing with the whole Cuban question. Date after date was set for the sending in of his message, and again and again some excuse was given for its postponement. The impatience of Congress was simply a reflex of the anxiety and impatience of the country at large. Congress and the country showed, however, a most extraordinary patience, while the President was occupied with well-meant



PRESIDENT WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

(As he appeared to De Lipman, of the *Journal*, in April.)

but futile schemes of diplomacy. Finally, on Monday, April 11, the belated message actually arrived. The nervous excitement of the country had only become the more intense by reason of waiting, and the message fell short of the wishes of those whose overwrought feelings demanded vehement and burning expressions. It was, nevertheless, a wise message, and its conservatism was not of a kind to thwart the development of a strong policy by Congress. It set forth the attempts that had been made to deal with Spain by negotiation and admitted that nothing further in that direction could be done. It recited the horrors of Spanish methods in Cuba and declared that the war must stop. It argued against the recognition of Cuban independence, upon the well-established ground that recognition should follow rather than precede the accomplished fact. The policy that it recommended to Congress was "the forcible intervention of the United States as a neutral to stop the war, according to the large dictates of humanity." The President's long argument and review led up to the following conclusion and advice:

The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American in-

terests, which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop.

In view of these facts and of these considerations, I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens, as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

It is to be noted that the message did not explicitly side with the insurgents in their demand for independence, although there was little reason to believe that the President's policy could result in anything but the extinguishment of the Spanish title. The President, however, declared himself ready to execute any policy that Congress might adopt. The question was at once taken hold of by the proper committee in each house. At length, on the 13th, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives reported a resolution which was adopted on the same day by a vote of 322 to 19. This resolution directed the President to intervene at once in Cuba, authorized him to use the

Action in Congress.

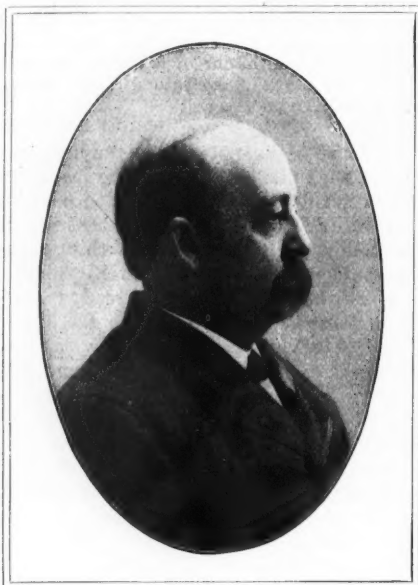


From a drawing for the Herald.

SENATOR J. B. FORAKER, OF OHIO.

(Author of the resolutions that were finally adopted.)

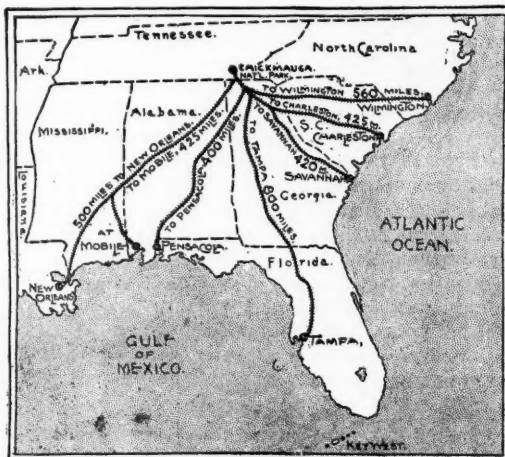
army and navy, and further directed him to establish in the island a free and independent government of the people. Thus it was made certain that pacification should not be followed by a compromise which would retain even a nom-



SENATOR CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.
(Author of the Senate committee's report.)

inal Spanish sovereignty. In the Senate, the Foreign Relations Committee reported on April 14 resolutions identical with those printed on our opening page (except the last section, afterward unanimously added as an amendment). They were accompanied by a powerful and brilliant report prepared and presented by Senator Cushman K. Davis, chairman of the committee, which, next to the President's papers, is to be regarded as the most important of the documentary records of the month. The Senate has no machinery for shutting off debate; but the committee's resolutions would have been adopted in short order but for the introduction of an amendment recognizing the existing provisional government of the Cuban republic. The most conspicuous advocates of this amendment were Senator Foraker on the Republican side and Senator Turpie on the other. The Democrats formed by far the greater part of the supporters of the amendment. On the 16th the recognition amendment was voted upon, and it was carried by a majority of 51 to 37. The resolutions as thus amended were then adopted by a vote of 67 to 21. This was on Saturday.

The Question of "Recognition." It was well known that the House would not readily concur in recognizing the provisional republic, and it was feared that a protracted deadlock might ensue. Patriotism, however, was triumphant over preference; and after a fourteen hours' session, which extended from the time of assembling on Monday until nearly 2 o'clock on Tuesday morning, the report of a joint conference committee was accepted by both houses. This report substituted the Senate resolutions for those of the other chamber, but omitted the clause recognizing the present Cuban Government. The plan as adopted had the fullest approval of the President, and would seem by all means to have been the wiser and safer one for the country to pursue. Recognition of the Maso government may indeed follow at a very early day, but at the outset of armed intervention the United States ought not to be hampered. Under the circumstances, our demand that Spain should withdraw her troops and relinquish sovereignty in Cuba can mean nothing except that she is to relinquish authority to the United States. We are in the position of a court which assumes temporary control of an estate with a view to its proper disposal. We distinctly avow that in taking it upon ourselves to expel Spain from Cuba we also assume the duty and responsibility of restoring order in the island and of protecting the lives and rights of all elements of the population. We have further pledged ourselves explicitly in our turn to relinquish authority just as soon as we shall have been able to supervise the establishment of an independent Cuban republic. This, doubtless, will mean the extension of the existing



MAP SHOWING CENTERS OF MOBILIZATION OF UNITED STATES TROOPS FOR A MOVEMENT ON CUBA.

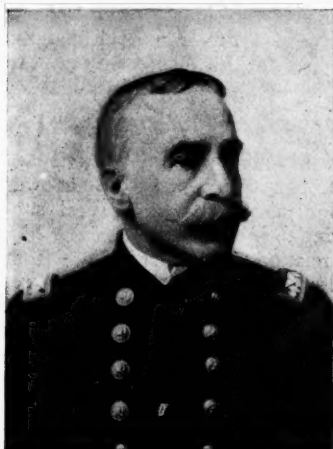


Photo by Bell.

COMMODORE GEORGE DEWEY.

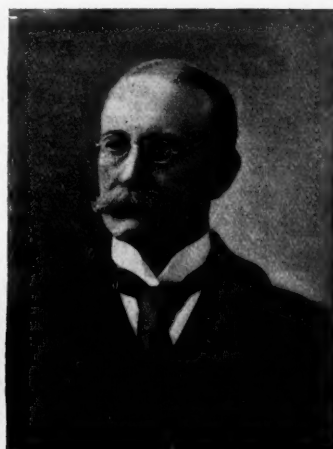
(Commander-in-chief of the Asiatic squadron.)



Photo by Bell.

REAR ADMIRAL HOWELL.

(Commander of the Atlantic patrol squadron.)



CAPTAIN SIGSBEE.

(Commander of the auxiliary cruiser *St. Paul*.)

republic under President Maso and his cabinet to all parts of the island. Nevertheless, for the time being it is the United States, and not President Maso's government, that stands before the whole world responsible for conditions in Cuba; and where there is responsibility there must also be authority. We should be embarrassed in doing for the Cubans what we have set out to do if President McKinley had to shoulder the responsibility while by our own premature act of recognition we had accorded to President Maso all the rightful authority. If we had acknowledged the Cuban republic, our logical course would have been to form an offensive and defensive alliance with that neighboring and sovereign power, and then in a strictly subordinate way to coöperate with Gen. Maximo Gomez. But this would have involved us in all the losses and dangers of a war with Spain, while increasing the chance of its being a long rather than a short war. In any case, of course, our forces will avail themselves of the indispensable coöperation of General Gomez' "Army of Liberation."

The War Preparations.

In the week beginning Monday, the 18th, the railroads were busy moving the regular army and its equipments to points where embarkation for Cuba would be easy. Chickamauga National Park was made a general rendezvous, but troops were also sent in considerable bodies directly to New Orleans, Key West, and other seaports. The national guard was prepared to respond to the daily anticipated call for volunteers. Admiral Sicard was at Washington as adviser to Secretary Long, while

Captain (now Admiral) Sampson had taken charge of the squadron at Key West. Commodore Schley was in command of the flying squadron at Hampton Roads, which was momentarily awaiting orders to sail. A new squadron had been formed for purposes of the patrol of our Atlantic coast and put under command of Admiral Howell. It was composed largely of well-built liners which had been purchased and converted into armed cruisers. Conspicuous among these were four admirable ships of the Morgan line, which had joined the navy under the picturesque names of the *Yankee*, the *Dixie*, the *Prairie*, and the *Yosemite*. The splendid American-built transatlantic liners *St. Paul* and *St. Louis* had also been impressed into the naval service, and Captain Sigsbee, of the ill-starred *Maine*, had been given the command of one of them. The liners *New York* and *Paris* were also taken and rechristened the *Harvard* and the *Yale*. The attempt to buy warships abroad had brought a very small aggregate of results. The transformation of merchantmen and yachts into a naval auxiliary fleet had, however, been accomplished in a remarkably successful manner. In all the work of naval preparation the highest credit was accorded by everybody to Assistant Secretary Theodore Roosevelt—the President and Secretary Long leading in the recognition of Mr. Roosevelt's good work. It was understood as we went to press that Mr. Roosevelt had determined to resign his position (to be filled probably by some naval officer, such, for example, as Admiral Walker, retired) and to seek active service in the army. Mr. Roosevelt's courage and pluck have long been an

inspiration to the young men of the whole country. He has always sought the hard task.

The new Spanish Cortes was called by the Queen to assemble on April 20, a date some days earlier than the one originally fixed. The party groups held preliminary meetings on the afternoon of the 19th, when the action of the American Congress was fully known in Madrid. Prime Minister Sagasta, as the head of the Liberal party, made statements of the most



COMMODORE W. S. SCHLEY.

(Commander-in-chief of the flying squadron.)

uncompromising character, and war was declared inevitable, alike by all Spanish statesmen and newspapers. It was generally believed in the United States that Spain would resort to some evasive diplomatic scheme for the purpose of gaining more time; but on the other hand it was well known that President McKinley had resolved to countenance no further procrastination. Consul-General Lee and our other consular representatives in Cuba had been withdrawn during the week that ended Saturday, April 9; and General Lee on the way to Washington received ovations of the sort bestowed upon conquering heroes. It was understood that he desired to take an active part in the campaign and rumored that he would be appointed a major-general of volunteers. The Spanish minister remained at his post until on

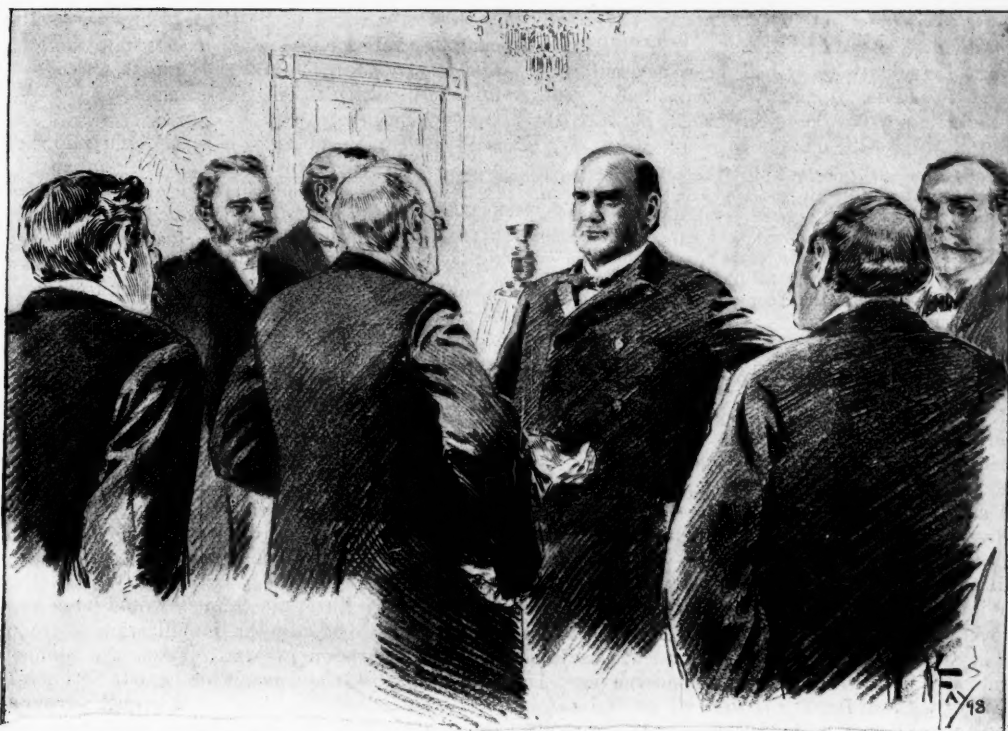
the 20th he was served from the State Department with a copy of the President's ultimatum. Whereupon he asked for his passports, left the archives of his legation and the oversight of Spanish interests in the keeping of M. Cambón, the French ambassador, and immediately departed from Washington by way of Niagara Falls to Canada. In Spain, the cabinet was more alert than Minister Woodford, and succeeded in delivering to him a note informing him that diplomatic relations were severed, and that the action of Congress and the President was regarded by Spain as equivalent to a declaration of war. This was on the morning of the 21st. Minister Woodford was thereupon given escort as far as the boundary line on his way to Paris.

*The Blockade
of Cuba
Ordered.*

The news of General Woodford's dismissal from Madrid was received at Washington as sufficiently marking the actual beginning of war. The delivery of the ultimatum to Señor Polo at Washington had taken the place of its presentation at Madrid by General Woodford, and the note of Señor Gullon, the foreign minister, referring to the proceedings at Washington, was of course all the answer that Spain intended to make to the American demands. War had, therefore, actually begun. Orders were at once sent to Admiral Sampson to proceed to Havana and institute a blockade of the island of Cuba. This command was carried into effect on Friday, the 22d. There was no immediate intention to bombard Havana or other Spanish ports, but only to cut off communication and prevent the landing of any food supplies or munitions of war. Commodore Schley's famous flying squadron was ordered for the present to remain at Hampton Roads, Spain's plans being unknown. The Spaniards had, in the days immediately preceding, been assembling a very extensive fleet at St. Vincent, in the Cape Verde Islands (see our frontispiece map for the theater of naval and military operations), and it was doubtless to await some desired information concerning the sailing of this Spanish fleet that our flying squadron was detained. Otherwise it would probably have been sent immediately to Porto Rico. It was further understood that Commodore Dewey, commanding our ships which were assembled at Hong Kong, was under orders to proceed at once to Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands, in order to harass Spain in those important colonial possessions.

*Incidents
and Conditions
of the War.*

Meanwhile, the movement of the regular army to Chickamauga was expedited, and the President urged Congress to lose no time in passing a bill author-



From a drawing for the New York Herald.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY RECEIVING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SIX GREAT POWERS.

izing the Executive to issue a call for volunteers. The details of this bill were agreed upon by a conference committee of the two houses on Friday forenoon, and President McKinley in the course of the same day signed the bill and issued the call for 100,000 troops, each State being assigned its quota in the ratio of its population. With the Spanish West Indies under blockade the war was fairly begun. It is scarcely probable that the opposing fleets can meet in a sea fight in the days that will have intervened before this magazine reaches its readers on May 1. It is well understood that the United States does not intend to issue letters of marque or to permit privateering. On the other hand, the commercial nations of Europe will do what they can to restrain Spain from resorting to privateering, and will not readily permit the exercise of the right of search, but will take high grounds respecting the immunity of ships flying a neutral flag. It will be only in a modified sense, probably, that England will treat coal as contraband of war. It is hoped that the effective blockade of Cuba may bring Spain to a point of readiness to negotiate a peace on reasonable terms. But nobody can now tell

whether the campaign is to remain bloodless or to reach the stage of fighting. Nor can anybody say whether, if actual fighting comes, the war will be sharp and short or long drawn out. That it may be short and not destructive is of course the wish of every person of right and rational mind.

The Joint Note of the Six Powers.

Some criticism was aroused by the President's reception of the six ambassadors and ministers representing the great powers which form the so-called concert of Europe, when they appeared in a body to present a joint note expressing the hope on the part of their governments that peace might be maintained. The note was as follows:

The undersigned representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, duly authorized in that behalf, address in the name of their respective governments a pressing appeal to the feelings of humanity and moderation of the President and of the American people in their existing differences with Spain. They earnestly hope that further negotiations will lead to an agreement which, while securing the maintenance of peace, will afford all necessary guarantees for the reestablishment of order in Cuba. The powers do not doubt that the humanitarian and dis-

interested character of this representation will be fully recognized and appreciated by the American nation.

The President's reply had been carefully prepared in advance, and was immediately submitted, its purport being sufficiently indicated by the following sentence:

The Government of the United States appreciates the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication now made on behalf of the powers named, and, for its part, is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfill a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable.

The Talk of European Menace. It is only fair to say that the British minister, Sir Julian Pauncefote, did not act with the representatives of the continental powers until he had assured himself that there was no design of menace in the proceedings, and that the affair should be considered as a mere bit of formality. Nevertheless, our Government might reasonably have declined to be addressed by the particular group of six European powers which has of late years assumed to impose its mandates upon all parts of the world. We in this country can never consent to have the concert of Europe, as such, act diplomatically in any affair which concerns us. In dealing with all foreign powers we act independently upon our own behalf, and we expect every foreign power in dealing with us to act in that same way. It is true that the President's reply was tantamount to informing the powers that we should act upon our own responsibility and not upon their suggestion. Yet it appears that the fact that we allowed them to communicate with us at all in the collective sense emboldened one or two of the continental powers to attempt, a few days later, the organization of Europe for the purpose of a distinct menace against this country. The whole proceeding was an excellent object-lesson to the American people, and the country has learned not a little by the experiences of the past few weeks. At present, it is true, Europe could not possibly bring itself into agreement against the United States, for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, it would be perilous for the future

peace of the world if we should allow the continental powers for a moment to entertain the idea that at some future time they might act collectively in dictation to our Government.

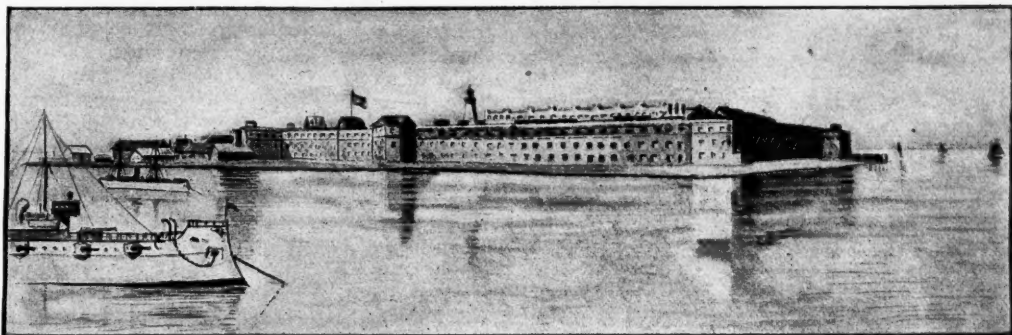
Our Treatment of Spain. The European powers, though jealous of the rapid progress and great prosperity of the United States, are also aware of the thoroughly peaceful character of our people and our Government. Their jealousy of us is a trifling matter when compared with their jealousy of one another. All that is necessary to save us from European interference is to know our own mind, to be less boisterous in talk, and to be more prompt and decisive in action. To justify one-fiftieth part of the talk we have done in this country, we ought long ago to have driven out the Spaniards and emancipated Cuba. It is not the sensational newspapers that have had a sole monopoly of the talking. Presidents, cabinets, diplomats, and above all Congress, have done their full share. The discussions of the Cuban question in the messages of President Cleveland and President McKinley have been of a nature which in any European country would have been promptly followed by the mobilization of troops and a declaration of war. From the moment when Mr. Cleveland made his famous intimation that we should have to interfere on high grounds of humanity if the Cuban war were not soon ended, a war between this country and Spain has been practically inevitable. The whole course of



Drawn by De Lipman for the Journal.

General Miles. General Schofield. President McKinley. Secretary Alger.

A CONFERENCE ON THE CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS.



PORT JEFFERSON, AT DRY TORTUGAS, THE NEAREST AMERICAN FORTIFIED POST TO CUBA.

our diplomacy with Spain has been—when one substitutes plain words for diplomatic phrases—nothing but a series of menaces. Our conduct has been one constant assault upon the dignity and *amour propre* of a highly punctilious nation. When one is dealing with a proud people, this kind of proceeding must mean, in the end, war and nothing else. We might have observed strict neutrality. In that case our President's messages would not have discussed the possible duty of our taking a hand in the Cuban row. Nor would our diplomacy have undertaken to fix dates for a friendly nation to meet in quelling colonial insurrections. Much less would we have presumed to force the withdrawal and appointment of colonial governors and captains-general.

*Did We Begin
the War in
January?*

When we went further than diplomacy and assembled a powerful navy at the point on our coast which was nearest to Havana, we had replaced menacing language with menacing acts. Probably there was not a Spaniard in the whole world who did not really believe that the sending of the *Maine* to Havana was potentially an act of war. In any case they regarded it as the threat of a strong nation against a weak power distracted with colonial difficulties in both hemispheres, while tormented at home by anarchist plots and by threats of a Carlist outbreak. The people of the United States have had good reason to call the destruction of the *Maine* an act of war treacherously conceived in a time of nominal peace. But it must not be forgotten that the people of Spain have also believed that our sending the *Maine* to Havana—with our whole fleet, ready for action, only a few miles away—was also in the nature of an act of war in a time of nominal peace. They considered that we had taken advantage of Spain's unpreparedness to utilize our natural strategic advantages of position. The die was really cast when the fleet was mobilized

with orders to concentrate at Key West and the Dry Tortugas. That was in the month of January. Menaces of that sort mean action sooner or later. And it is generally true that to act sooner rather than later is the part of mercy and true wisdom. At that moment the Government at Washington was in full possession of the facts concerning the hideous results of starvation and disease that had followed the ravages of insurgents and Spaniards alike, and that had been greatly intensified by the brutality of the Weyler policy of reconcentration.



RECENT ENTRANCE OF SPANISH TROOPS TO PORTO RICO—PARADE ON CHIEF STREET.



"HANDS OFF"—AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

From *Black and White* (London).

What
Might Have
Been.

We have not since had an ounce of justification for making war against Spain that we did not possess in December. Nor has anything that has since happened made it easier for Spain to withdraw without a fight. There is much reason to believe that if we had possessed the full courage of our convictions at that time, we would have made the strongest possible naval demonstration at Havana, instead of making it at Key West. And we should have been able, very possibly, without firing a gun, by our mere word of authoritative command to have enforced an armistice upon the contending parties in Cuba, and then by vigorous and cool-headed negotiations to have secured the evacuation of the Spaniards. It is true that our preparations for a war were not extensive at that time. But on the other hand Spain was without any real preparations whatsoever for a naval fight. Her warships were not upon this side of the ocean, and practically none of them was in condition for service. Our blockade of Cuba would have been instantly effective. We should, without the slightest difficulty, have prevented any Spanish ships from coaling at Porto Rico. We should have been able to land small arms, field-pieces, and food supplies in unlimited quantities for the use of the insurgents. And by the simple process of

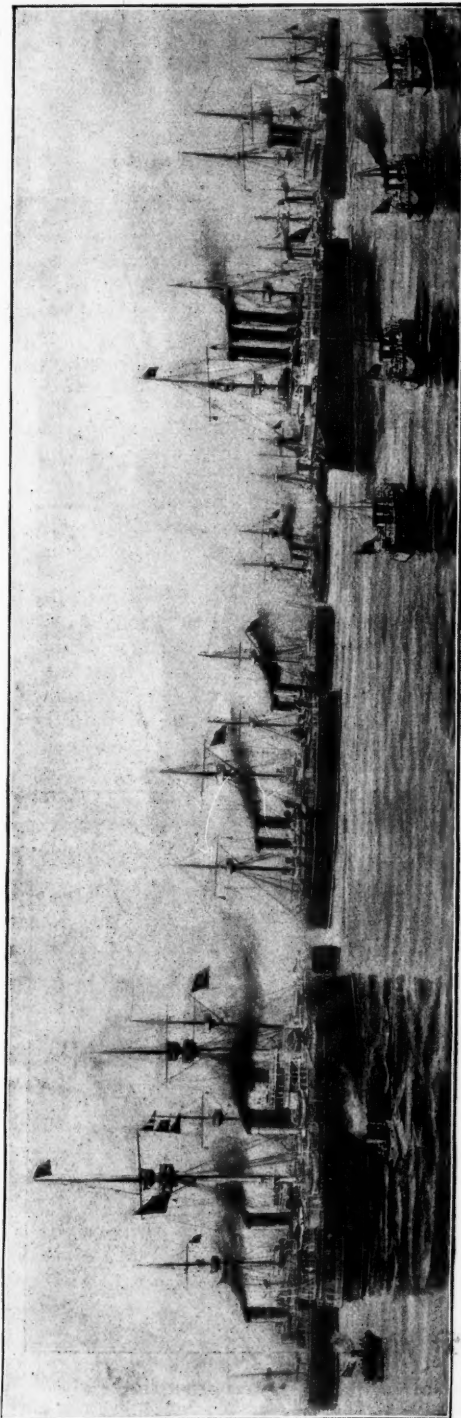
preventing any food supplies or munitions of war from being landed for the Spanish army, we should have put Spain in a position where we could dictate the terms of a peace that would have been honorable to all parties concerned. What we did when we sent the *Maine* to Havana was to serve notice upon Spain that we intended to fight. Whereupon we gave her a number of months in which to make such preparations as would render it at least possible that the fight, when it came off, might be exceedingly injurious to both parties, although the outcome could not be in doubt. This is not said in reproach of any one nor in a spirit of superior wisdom. It is even yet too early by far to estimate at their rightful importance the arguments and counter-arguments that were used in discussing the question how and when to force the issue with Spain to a conclusion. But be it remembered that a conclusion had to be reached sooner or later.

Spain's
Deliberate
Guilt.

The Queen Regent of Spain, who is pictured as a woman much to be admired, is not known to have made the mildest sort of protest against a policy that would have disgraced the worst of the Sultan's Kurdish cavalry in Armenia. All of the Spanish illustrated papers have been full of lively accounts and showy illustrations of the recent extravagant carnival revels throughout Spain. At that very time the whole world was ringing with



SPAIN'S "SENSE OF JUSTICE."—From the *World* (New York).



Vitoria. Pelayo. Cobán. Oquendo. Vizcaya. Maria Teresa. Alfonso XII. Marqués de la Eugénada. Carlos V. Cardenal Cisneros. Isla de Cuba. Numancia. Cardenal Cisneros. "FUROR"—ARE IN THE RIGHT FOREGROUND).
 "AUDAZ," "OSADO," "TERROR," "FUROR"—ARE IN THE RIGHT FOREGROUND).
 From Illustration (Madrid).

Cobán.

Pelayo.

Vitoria.

PRINCIPAL SHIPS OF THE SPANISH NAVY (THE TORPEDO-BOT DESTROYERS—

the horrors of the Spanish policy in Cuba; and American charity was endeavoring to find a way to carry relief. As far as reports go, there was not so much as a single peseta contributed in the whole of Spain for the relief of the Queen's suffering subjects in the "Ever Faithful Isle." Yet the Spaniards, with all their oft-mentioned impoverishment and lack of resources, had wealth enough to lavish money upon carnival frivolities. Meanwhile the Spanish Government, evidently satisfied with its policy of extermination in Cuba, was finding money to spend all over Europe in the purchase of munitions of war and of additions to the navy, with the purpose of fighting the United States. The Spanish element in Havana was able to give brilliant public balls and theatrical entertainments for the raising of money by the hundreds of thousands of dollars to aid the Spanish navy, while contributing inappreciably for the relief of the wretched people who were dying daily in the very streets of Havana. Subsequently, as a part of the play to the galleries of Europe, so to speak, the Spanish Government went through the form of appropriating several hundreds of thousands of dollars for the relief of the *reconcentrados*, and announced an entire change of policy; but there is not very much reason to believe that a penny of that money was ever intended to be used for the purpose proclaimed or that any of it has since been so employed. As Consul-General Lee pithily remarked to the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, even if the money ever actually passed out of the Spanish treasury, none of it would succeed in running the gantlet of the Spanish officials, who would certainly have stolen every dollar of it before it could have reached the poor wretches for whom it was nominally intended.

Not Quite Consistent.

And yet the self-professed "friends of peace" in the United States declared up to the last moment that they were totally unable to discover any possible reason why we should even give ourselves the slightest degree of concern about what was going on in Cuba. The bewilderment of the community at large respecting the behavior of these advocates of peace at any price was not lessened by the fact that, to some extent, these were precisely the same gentlemen who, only a few months ago, had vehemently demanded that the United States should make war upon the Turkish empire, for no reason whatever that related to a now existing condition of things, but solely because the Turkish Government had not paid over to our Government some thousands of dollars considered by us to be due for certain

educational property destroyed by mobs several years ago in Asiatic Turkey. And a few of them a year or two ago would have embroiled us with England over a matter of catching seals on the high seas! Some of them had denounced with anger and pathos the starvation of "seal pups" on the Pribiloff Islands, yet they seemed unmoved when the starvation of Cuban children was mentioned. If these gentlemen have been working to prevent war between the United States and Spain with clean hands and pure hearts, on disinterested grounds and with the highest love of humanity in their hearts, they have at least been unfortunate in the company they have kept. For it was undoubtedly true last month that some of them were working in close and intimate conjunction with powerful agencies inspired by the holders of Spanish bonds.

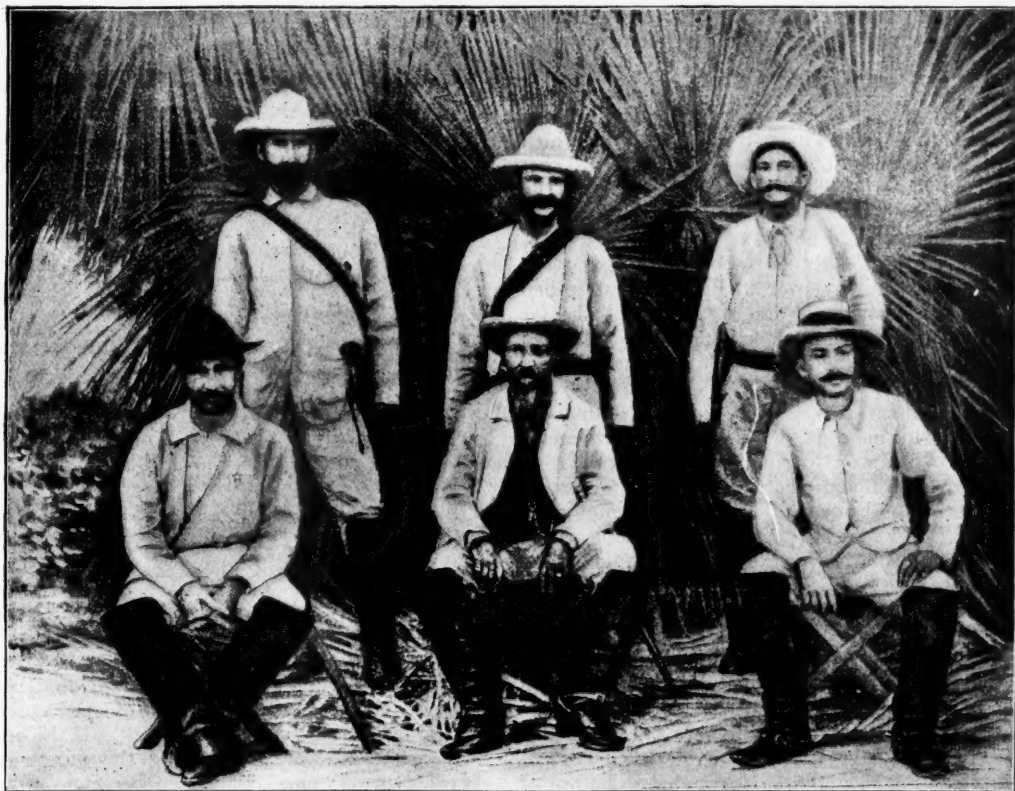
The Financiers' Work at Washington.

The chief object of these efforts has been to keep the Spanish flag floating over Cuba. The greater the extermination of the Cuban population, the more likely in the end, naturally, would be the retention in Cuba of Spanish sovereignty. Greater or smaller degrees of the pretentious nonsense called "autonomy" were of slight consequence to the interests that these agencies were representing; for if Spain retained sovereignty in Cuba, quite irrespective of the nature of the purely domestic administration of the island, there could

scarcely be involved any repudiation of public loans already outstanding which Spain had issued upon the pledge of Cuban revenues. The separate public debt of Spain now amounts to about \$1,500,000,000. This would appear not to include the debt which the Spaniards have fastened upon Cuba, and which must now amount to at least \$400,000,000, and the interest upon which is paid out of the revenues collected in Cuba. The vast debt saddled upon the impoverished island represents nothing whatever except the expenses incurred by the Spaniards themselves in fighting the Cubans. A great part of it undoubtedly represents money stolen by Spain's corrupt civil and military establishments. Now, if Cuba should succeed in winning her independence, it was obvious that she would give herself no concern whatever with any part of Spain's indebtedness, none of which had ever been incurred by authority of the Cuban people, and none of which had ever been expended for their benefit—while on the contrary a great part of it had been expended in diabolical warfare against them. Not only was there involved in the question of Spain's continued sovereignty in Cuba the \$400,000,000 of so-called Cuban indebtedness, but there was further involved, undoubtedly, the total bankruptcy of Spain. That is to say, the value of the \$1,500,000,000 of indebtedness issued directly in the name of the Madrid government, of which something like a thou-



LA ESPERANZA, PROVINCE OF PUERTO PRINCIPE, CUBA, ONE OF THE SHIFTING HEADQUARTERS OF PRESIDENT MASSO AND THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA.—From *Ilustracion* (Madrid).



Ernesto Fous,
Secretary of the Treasury.
Domingo Méndez Capote,
Vice-President.

Andrés Mareno de la Torre,
Secretary of State.
Bartolome Maso,
President.

José B. Alemán,
Secretary of War.
Manuel Ramón Silva,
Secretary of the Interior.

PRESIDENT MASO AND HIS CABINET—THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC.

Enlarged from a kodak picture by *Ilustracion* (Madrid).

sand millions was in the form of the permanent consolidated 4 per cent. debt, was in dire peril. The prospect of war with the United States, to be followed by Cuban freedom, had been causing the steady decline of the Spanish consolidated 4s in the money markets of Europe.

*The Church
and Its
Holdings of
Spanish Bonds.*

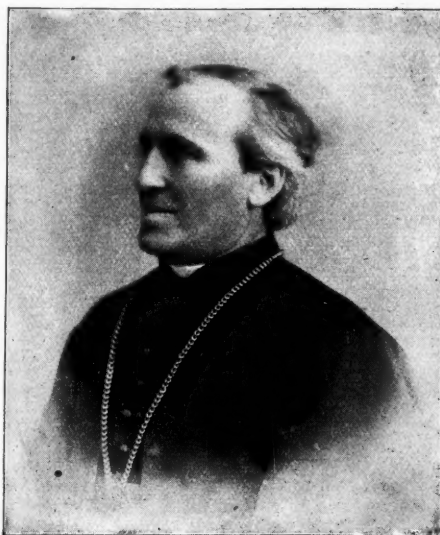
It next becomes important, if we would really know what was going on at Washington, for us to understand something of the distribution of this Spanish debt. In the early part of the present century, the property of the Church in Spain had so accumulated that it might be said almost without exaggeration that the ecclesiastical establishment had absorbed the wealth of the country. Whereas there are now perhaps thirty-five thousand priests and monks in Spain, there were in 1820 not less than one hundred and fifty thousand of these Spanish clergymen, not to mention the scores of

thousands of nuns (of whom there are now only about fifteen thousand). Clericalism has played a very large part in the struggles of dynasties, factions, and parties in Spain throughout the entire century. The success of a particular dynastic faction in 1835 meant the defeat of the clerical party; and this was followed by sweeping confiscatory decrees, which led to a protracted quarrel between the Vatican and the Spanish Government. This quarrel was kept up for nearly a quarter of a century, and was finally compromised in 1859 by a new Concordat between the Spanish Government and the Pope, in accordance with which a large amount of church property was sold off, and there was issued to the Church several hundred millions of dollars of interest-bearing Spanish bonds. This huge block of securities held by the Roman Catholic Church to-day must of necessity make that ecclesiastical organization especially anxious for the mainte-

nance of Spanish credit. A war with the United States means Spanish bankruptcy almost beyond a peradventure; and it is hard to see how the holdings of Spanish bonds by the Catholic Church could be protected in the general break-up of Madrid finances. The particular plan by which the Church came into possession of the chief part of the Spanish internal debt was arranged with the Vatican itself, and it would be strange indeed if the Vatican should not now, in this critical time, have felt very keenly its responsibility for doing everything in its power to protect what it had been able forty years ago to save out of the far greater possessions formerly held by the Church in Spain. All this was reasonable enough.

The Efforts of the Pope. Pope Leo, that venerable figure the loftiness of whose personal character has won for him the esteem of good men of all communions, is not for a moment to be charged with any sordid or improper motives in what has been on his part a commendable effort to secure a solution of the Cuban question without a war between Spain and the United States. The only unanswered question is, why the Pope had not intervened on behalf of his suffering Catholic subjects in Cuba. The Vatican has had no lack of wise advisers in this country, and has clearly perceived, if we mistake not, that Spain must inevitably give up her hold on the island. It seems to have become the cherished hope of Leo that Spain might be persuaded to withdraw under some terms that would not sacrifice Spanish pride at every point, while the essential features of the demands of American public opinion should have been granted. It was to this end that the Pope offered his services as a mediator; but there were ample reasons why from the point of view of the Government at Washington this was impossible. And the Spaniards on their part declined the Pope's services. Then came the Pope's urgent request that we should at least abstain from armed intervention until we had allowed a certain number of days to elapse in which the Vatican, with the coöperation of certain European governments, should bring moral pressure upon Spain to see what concessions might be secured at Madrid in the interest of peace. It was this effort of the Pope, undoubtedly, that led to the postponement of President McKinley's message from Wednesday to Monday.

The Mystery Business at Washington. It is simply to be remarked here that it would have been safe enough to have allowed the country to know the facts. It was a mistake to countenance the news reports that the message was withheld on account of some possible danger that its delivery



ARCHBISHOP IRELAND.

to Congress might inflict upon Americans in Cuba. The European governments are adepts at the game of diplomatic mystery; but our Government at Washington is not organized for that kind of business. With us, nothing succeeds half so well as downright frankness, and the influence of Mr. McKinley during the month of April was on more than one occasion sadly imperiled by the secrecy surrounding highly honorable efforts which required no mystery. The efforts that his holiness Leo XIII. was making were wholly creditable to him. They furnished a good and sufficient reason for the postponement of President McKinley's message. It would have been decidedly better, therefore, if the real reason had been known and the sham reason—the absurdity of which was bound to be exposed—had not been sensationally foisted upon the country. Archbishop Ireland, who is understood to have been the man whose explanations to the President had secured the postponement of the message, is an American of the highest quality of patriotism. He has had a clear comprehension of all the factors involved in the complicated situation. His opinion, therefore, expressed to the President, that the Pope, if a little more time were accorded, might be able to use his influence upon the solidly Catholic population of Spain to accomplish the evacuation of Cuba without our resorting to the fearful necessity of war, furnished an ample and conclusive reason for granting the desired time. Secrecy was observed solely for the sake of the effectiveness of the negotiations.

*How the Brokers
were Wise
and the People
Foolish.*

Unhappily, the speculators on the stock market were informed of the important negotiations upon which the hope of peace was based, while the great mass of the plain, honest people of the United States were kept in total ignorance and were suffering agonies from suspense. When to the average man war seemed inevitable, the big brokers in Wall Street looked wise and said that their confidential advices were all of a pacific complexion. And stocks went up instead of down. When the whole country, including nearly every man in both houses of Congress, and even the Cabinet itself, had the best reason for supposing that the President's message was to be sent to Congress on Wednesday, April 6, the leading stock brokers in Wall Street professed to have information that it was not going in before the following Monday. Unfortunate occurrences of this kind caused anxiety and distrust throughout the country, and hot-heads made accusations even against the honor of the President of the United States. All this was as mistaken as could be. The President was doing his duty with as good conscience as George Washington or Abraham Lincoln would have exercised under the same circumstances. It simply happened that the efforts to pull Spain off—and thus to end two wars, one actual and one prospective, at the same time—were not confined to the Pope, but were participated in by the government of Austria and the government of France, abetted and urged on by the European financiers whose assurances to Wall Street were sustaining the market and whose action also was in good faith.

*Why Austria
and
France were
Interested.*

The motives of the Austrian Government were not so much financial as dynastic. The people of Spain happen to be ruled over by a branch of the Austrian Bourbons. Nothing could be more disgustingly mawkish than the affectation of sympathy in the United States with the small boy whose mother is naturally trying to keep the Spanish throne for his benefit when he gets old enough to occupy it. Nevertheless, the house of Hapsburg could not in decency neglect its own; and it has been using every possible diplomatic means to protect the interests of the Queen Regent Christina and her son and ward, the lad Alfonso. The French Government, on the other hand, has been impelled to a somewhat active diplomatic interest in the whole situation by the fact that French investors have absorbed the major part of the huge permanent 4 per cent. foreign debt of Spain, and that a war between Spain and the United States would be likely to take all the value out of those bonds. It is well remembered in France that

after the conclusion of the ten years' war of 1868-78, accompanied and followed as it was by costly civil strife in the Peninsula itself, the public debt of Spain had risen to a point where on January 1, 1881, it reached about \$2,600,000,000. That was more than the financial back of the country could bear, and there was a scaling down, virtually a repudiation, of a full half of this amount, the interest-bearing debt on January 1, 1884, amounting to less than \$1,300,000,000. A war with the United States, even of short duration, would oblige Spain to resort to forced loans, with the result of a subsequent readjustment of her whole indebtedness, either with direct repudiation or by a process of insolvency. At least this has seemed likely.

*The International
Character of
"High Finance."*

In short, the situation has imperiled investments to the extent of many hundreds of millions of dollars. Now, the investment market is an international affair that has its ramifications everywhere. While it is true that no appreciable part of the Spanish debt is held in the United States, it is, on the other hand, equally true that the great bankers of Europe, who have immense interests at stake in the maintenance of Spanish credit, have also an intimate connection with great banking houses in the United States, and that they are able to secure the most energetic co-operation of large financial interests in this country. Gigantic monetary operations in the United States in such directions as the reorganization or consolidation of railroads, the floating of new trusts and industrial combinations, and other matters of a comparable nature, are at this very time dependent for their success upon the European money centers. And the rich award that the great financial institutions of Wall Street are accustomed to reap from such business operations is due almost wholly to the ability of these Wall Street houses to enlist the coöperation of European capital. But it is obvious that if European capital serves them in their American schemes, they in turn must be at the service of European capitalists when national or international politics at Washington would seem to threaten at any point the welfare of the great investment interests of Europe. Thus the closely related banking-houses of Paris, Frankfort, Berlin, Vienna, and London, whether named Rothschild or otherwise, having direct interests at stake in the support of Spanish credit, are in a position to say to Wall Street that the United States must not precipitate Spanish bankruptcy by making a war on behalf of Cuba. The argument is too obvious to need any explanation. The merest suggestion of it is enough.

*No Scandal
to be
Imputed.*

Lest these pages should seem to be making accusations and casting reflections, there remain two things to be said with the utmost clearness. First, although this great combination of financial interests could have afforded to spend unlimited sums of money to influence action at Washington, we do not for a moment believe that its work done at Washington was attempted upon corrupt lines. We believe that the Government of the United States, in all departments, is incorruptible. Furthermore, we believe that the great business interests to which we refer had a perfect right to be heard at Washington and to exert themselves with all the influence they could legitimately wield on behalf of the investors whose money was at stake. It is not in the least for the purpose of finding fault with the holders of Spanish securities, nor yet with the European bankers, nor again with the great Wall Street houses concerned with the financing of American railroads and industries, that we have commented upon the immense pressure exerted last month at Washington by the representatives of "conservative business interests." Our comment has been solely for the purpose of analyzing a situation which might well have mystified many of our readers.

*"Business"
has a
Right to Its
Argument.*

The "conservative business interests" assuredly had a right to be heard. And the ingenious methods employed by them to make a show of public opinion through resolutions adopted by chambers of commerce and through the activity of professional philanthropists were simply phases of modern organizing methods not in the least discreditable. These methods were perfectly understood by the members of Congress, none of whom was deceived into supposing that the circular letters and mimeographed resolutions represented any spontaneous movement of public opinion. Property interests are always extremely sensitive. They have within recent years learned the art of international and national organization for influence upon governmental action. It is not necessary to rebuke this exercise of influence, provided only it presents itself openly and seeks its ends in its own name and right. It deserves rebuke only when its motives are disguised and when it assumes the tone of moral superiority. It seemed for a few days last month to be laboring under the mistaken impression that it had some sort of a claim upon the President of the United States, and that he was on its side as against the public opinion of the country. The only thing to be said in serious criticism of it was that whereas it really represented something less than the loftiest of the motives that were actuating the conflicting

forces struggling for the mastery at Washington, it pretended to represent the very highest.

*England
and
France.*

In the thick of what was deemed, at least by the newspapers, an unusually critical period in the international relations of England, the world last month enjoyed the striking spectacle of the ruling heads of the British state all absent on foreign soil at the same time. The Queen was in her favorite retreat at Cimiez, in the south of France, the Prince of Wales was at Cannes, and Lord Salisbury, uniting in his own person the two great offices of prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, was at Beaulieu on the Riviera. Mr. Balfour, while keeping his cabinet place as first lord of the treasury, looked temporarily after the routine of the Foreign Office; but the fact remained that the prime minister and the Queen were at the same time resting themselves in the balmy climate of southern France, while the jingo newspapers in England and the Chauvinist press of France were noisily talking as if the British empire and the French republic might be on the very eve of a war over a boundary line in the unexplored wilderness of western Africa, or over some possible rivalry on the far upper Nile beyond Khartoum. Just before Lord Salisbury's arrival in France, M. Hanotaux, the foreign minister, when asked whether a war with England was at all likely, made the following answer:

As for our foreign relations, I can affirm that they are good with everybody. We have the best relations with all the powers. In certain foreign papers we are represented as having less cordial relations with England. Queen Victoria is at Nice, the object of our most respectful solicitude, the Prince of Wales is at Cannes, and Lord Salisbury arrives in France on Monday. That is my sole reply, and I hope this triple stay will be as prolonged and as agreeable as possible.

It is reported that Lord Salisbury's period of rest in France has been improved by him to help in the promotion of an understanding about the question of the respective limits of French and British possessions in West Africa, and that an agreement has already, virtually at least, been secured.

*England's
Stand About
China.*

There would seem to have been a much larger measure of anxiety in England than the real facts have warranted about the progress of affairs in China. Under the lead of Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett the House of Commons had in March unanimously voted that under any and all circumstances it was essential to the trade of England and her great interests in the far East that the territorial integrity of the Chinese empire should be maintained. This

action seemed something like a needless advertisement of England's weakness; for it was taken at the very time when the European powers were pocketing concessions from China which amounted to that very sacrifice of China's sovereignty and independence that the English statesmen were unanimously voting must be maintained. It is gratuitously humiliating to put one's self on record as opposed tooth and nail to the very thing that is happening, unless one means to fight. And England has not had the remotest intention of indulging in war to prevent the dismemberment of China. Mr. Stead, writing from the point of view of the British position and policy, makes the following pertinent comments:

*The Independence
and Integrity
of China.*

As the immediate result of this imbecility, Russia and France proceeded to compel the independent Chinese Government to grant them leases and concessions which made mince-meat of the integrity of Chinese territory. Russia secured a lease with immediate occupation of the great fortress of Port Arthur, which is the key to Peking, while France demanded a coaling station at Kwang-Chau in Hainan, the right to make a railroad into Yunnan, and a promise that no cession of territory shall be made to any other power in the Yang-tse valley and in certain other provinces, which include the region opposite Hong Kong. This put our government into a very pretty hole. For they could not protest against the French demand for a veto on cessions of Chinese territory on the ground that such a veto would forbid our acquisition of Miao Bay, because the House of Commons had unanimously declared in favor of the independence of Chinese territory. Neither could they consistently seize any Chinese land or island without falsifying their own declaration. So when the news came that China had given way, all the warships in Hong Kong were ordered to steam off in hot haste with full bunkers and magazines to the northward. What they have to do there does not as yet appear. Ministers, thanks to their temporary obsession by Sir Ashmead-Bartlett, appear to have with perverse ingenuity locked against themselves every door through which they might have found an exit.

*The Russians
at Port Arthur
and
Talien-Wan.*

When all this Ashmead-Bartlettism is brushed away from the brain, it will appear that things have gone very well. Our interests in China, we have declared times without ceasing, are not territorial, but commercial. If Russia had obtained Port Arthur and Talien-Wan without undertaking at the same time to respect the existing liabilities of the estate, we should have had fair reason to fear that our commerce might be strangled by a prohibitive tariff. But Russia has carefully avoided doing anything to which we can take exception. She has carried out to the letter the programme which Madame Novikoff frankly proclaimed in the *Observer* months ago. She has acquired a right to the usufruct of Port Arthur, and she is going to make an open ice-free port of Talien-Wan. She is not annexing Port Arthur; she is only utilizing it. All China's sovereign rights remain intact. Every power retains intact its existing privilege of sending its warships into the har-

bor of Port Arthur. At the same time she acquires a position at the gates of Peking which enables her to dominate the Chinese Government. She will bring her railroad to Talien-Wan, and it is stated that Count Mouravieff has undertaken that it shall be a treaty port, with only one difference: the 5 per cent. import duty which, with two and a half likin duty, is the maximum which can be charged on goods entering any treaty port, will be collected by Russian officials instead of by those under the orders of Sir Robert Hart. As it is absolutely certain that Russia, by bringing the Siberian overland railroad to Talien-wan, will quadruple British trade with Manchuria, it ought to have been an object of our policy to help her to get there as speedily as possible. Mr. Balfour recognized this twelve months ago. If he had only stuck to it and snuffed out Sir Ashmead we should not have had the foolish fluster which shamed us before Europe and Asia last month.



MR. GEORGE CURZON.

(Parliamentary under-secretary for the Foreign Office.)

*Russia
and
Japan.*

The Russians seem to have done their business with a steadiness and resolution which command our respect and admiration. They seem to have not only compelled the Chinese to do their bidding, but, what is much more marvelous, to have come to terms with the Japanese. They seem to have satisfied the latter that they are not going to annex Corea, and there is talk of some understanding about Wai-Hai-Wei. Of course, if we were going to fight Russia we might well be alarmed at a *rapprochement* which deprives us of our only possible ally in the far East. But as we are not going to fight Russia, it is very much to be desired that Russia should establish good relations with Japan. Acute antagonism between Japan and Russia would be a constant menace to the peace of the world. Our interest as a commercial nation—nay, as the queen of all the commercial nations—is to promote all efforts to establish good relations between our neighbors. Our friendly offices as peacemaker should be at the service of all those who are in danger of a misunderstanding threat-

ening the peace of the world. Instead of this, the Ashmead-Bartletts—inferior and superior—and their henchmen in the press habitually assume that it is our interest to set the nations by the ears—at least, when one of the nations happens to be Russia.

England Gives Up and Joins the Scramble. Since Mr. Stead wrote the foregoing paragraph the situation has made further progress, in a manner which entirely sustains his point of view. The British Government has obtained the lease or cession of Wei-Hai-Wei on terms identical to those upon which China had granted Port Arthur, in the immediate vicinity, to the Russians. At present, as ever since the close of her war with China, Japan remains in possession of Wei-Hai-Wei, awaiting the full payment of the indemnity due from China. There is probably an understanding between England and Japan; and we shall expect to see the Japanese secure compensation, either in some other part of China or—what is more probable—in Corea. Color would seem to be given to this last suggestion by what has appeared within the past few weeks to be the gradual withdrawal of Russia from all attempts at the exercise of paramount influence in Korean affairs. Mr. Balfour made a great speech in the House of Commons early in April on the Chinese question, in which he predicted the speedy collapse and partition of the Chinese empire—a complete abandonment, let it be observed, of the position that had so recently been taken by the House of Commons at the instigation of Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett and young Mr. Curzon. It is Mr. Balfour's idea that England must reconcile herself to the inevitable and prepare to get her full share in the game of grab. He holds firmly, however, to the idea that no matter who gets the pieces, there must be no exclusive trade policy exercised, but, on the contrary, all parts of the Chinese empire must be thrown open on equal terms to the commerce of the world.

England's Attitude Toward America. The British press and public were a little slow in getting thoroughly waked up about the Cuban question and the impending conflict between the United States and Spain. But nothing could have been more clear-sighted, fair-minded, and in general, also, well-informed, than the views that had been adopted by almost the entire United Kingdom as the situation grew acute in April. The firm friendship of the British Government has been highly appreciated by our authorities at Washington and by American public opinion at large. This friendship—which has not involved any failure on the part of Great Britain to treat Spain with all the courtesy that has been due to her as also a friendly nation—has in point of fact been

of more real use and satisfaction to us in America than a treaty of alliance could have been. For if the *rapprochement* between England and America had been too marked we might have been embarrassed in our friendly relations with some of the continental powers, and thus a coalition might have been provoked for the benefit of Spain. All that we wanted from England was courtesy, fair play, and an open-minded readiness to believe that we were not acting without ample reason or proper motives. It is precisely this treatment that we have in fact received; and it will not be forgotten. Our traditional friendship with Russia remains undisturbed, and it might be a fortunate thing upon the whole for the peace and progress of the whole world if the steadily growing friendship between England and the United States should be accompanied by a similar growth of friendly relations between the British empire and Russia. Although in another paragraph we have frankly deprecated the joint action of the powers in addressing the United States Government on the Cuban question, it is certainly to be admitted that Sir Julian Pauncefote's consent to accompany the other ambassadors was very tactful, inasmuch as Spain was thus left without any excuse or reason for complaining that England was openly siding with the United States.

A Grateful Change of Policy. The attitude of England at the present juncture is in very agreeable contrast to that which she assumed when, late in the ten years' Cuban war, we were disposed to intervene. Mr. Stead—who reminds us that even the Turk never gives up a province without a fight, and that it was all along futile to hope that Spain would withdraw from Cuba peaceably—comments as follows upon the changed attitude of England:

In 1876, when American intervention in Cuba was on the tapis, the British Government was sounded as to whether it would support the action of the cabinet of Washington. Lord Derby, then foreign minister, refused. The other European powers were even more hostile, and the intervention was abandoned. It is not likely that America will invoke either British or European support on this occasion. Spain, however, may appeal to the great powers for support against American "aggression." In such a case the action of our government should be the reverse of that of Lord Derby in 1876. We should tell Spain outright that she had better cut the loss, and thank God she is quit of a possession which has been a running sore for years and which never again can become a valuable property. America neither seeks nor needs our help. If the worst comes to the worst she needs no help to whip the Spaniard. But she may welcome our support in combating any disposition on the part of European powers to help Spain and in bringing the strongest moral pressure to bear at Madrid to avert war.

A Historic Parallel.

Mr. Stead goes on to apply the Bulgarian parallel in a specific and a highly pertinent manner :

Readers of the preface to the last edition of Kinglake's "History of the Crimean War" will remember the account which he gives of the effect of the death of Nicholas Kireeff, who was killed at the beginning of the Servian war, upon the national sentiment in Russia. Nicholas Kireeff—the brother of Madame Novikoff and an officer of the guards—had gone to Servia as a Russian volunteer, and fell fighting pierced with five wounds at the head of a Servian regiment at Zaitschar. His heroic death fell, says Kinglake, like a spark upon the charged mine of Russian enthusiasm. It was that which made the Russo-Turkish war inevitable. It was the incident that fired the popular imagination that precipitated war. Just so in the United States. The fate of the *Maine* has decided the destinies of Cuba. The need for intervention in Cuba, as in Bulgaria, was not made one whit more urgent by the death of Kireeff or the blowing up of the *Maine*. But it was made more obvious, and the result is likely to be the same in both cases.

America's Bulgaria.

Cuba is America's Bulgaria. As Russia was to Bulgaria in 1876, so is the United States to Cuba in 1898. The Spaniard, like the Turk, is holding on to a province which he has long since forfeited all right to govern. The Cubans, like the Bulgarians, have suffered horribly. The entire country population in the four western provinces of Cuba, about 400,000 in number, were driven last year by General Weyler's order into rough improvised open-air prisons. These prisons are constructed by digging a trench round a village or town, stringing a barbed-wire fence on the outside of the trench, and placing a small blockhouse garrisoned by soldiers at intervals along the trench, so that every part of the rude fortification is covered by their rifles. Within this prison wall the miserable inhabitants were free to starve to death or perish of pestilence. For, unlike the inmates of other prisons, the luckless *reconcentrados*, or concentrated ones, were provided neither with food nor medicine. They died like rotten sheep. In plain English, the Spaniards have murdered by slow torture 200,000 out of 400,000 of their subjects as a mere measure of precaution, and 100,000 are slowly dying under indescribable torments. The Spaniards have sent 200,000 troops to the island to repress the insurrection. Of these, only 60,000 remain fit for duty. The whole island is a shambles and a pest-house.

Peace, War, and Moral Leadership.

Mr. Stead's point of view respecting the clear duty of the United States to step bravely into Cuba and restore order is simply the view that prevails overwhelmingly among the best, most humane, and most peace-loving people of Great Britain. Nothing would be more incomprehensible to these Englishmen—the very men who in that country are the leaders in movements for peace and arbitration—than the language and conduct of certain gentlemen in the United States who have clamored for peace at any price. These Americans have either totally ignored the conditions that prevail in Cuba or else have boldly taken the cynical position that Cuban distress is none of our concern. In their attempts to rebuke the nation's real conscience, courage, and sense of duty, these men have only discredited their own claims to moral leadership.

General Kitchen-er's Advance on the Nile.

The absorption of the American newspapers in the Cuban question must account for the fact that the great battle on the Nile, fought at daybreak on the morning of Friday, April 8, seems to have



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE ADVANCE TO SOUDAN AND THE BATTLE OF APRIL 8.

attracted almost no attention whatever in this country. From time to time we have commented upon the leisurely but effective advance of the Anglo-Egyptian expedition that is moving up the Nile toward Khartoum, under the leadership of the Sirdar of the Egyptian army, Gen. Sir Herbert Kitchener. Many a previous expedition up the Nile, in ancient as well as modern history, has proved disastrous. The present movement now bids fair at every stage to be a brilliant success. What has made the difference? Certainly not the numerical magnitude of the invading army, nor yet, on the other hand, failure of the fanatical men of the desert, the "dervishes," to fight with fierce courage, in great numbers, and with no small degree of skill. Where others have failed Sir Herbert Kitchener is succeeding, because he is using machinery. The new forces of that sort must henceforth turn the scale in all serious warfare. Sir Herbert is proceeding on the plan of moving a stage at a time and pausing until his corps of railroad builders have brought their construction clear up to his camp. The railroad brings plenty of supplies and obviates all necessity of haste. On the Nile itself, moreover, he has an abundance of gunboats of very light draught, all armed with Maxim and other rapid-fire machine guns. Great care has been taken to protect the rear and keep the railroad open—although at one time a few weeks ago, with his encampment at Berber, some distance in advance of the rail, it had been feared that the dervishes might cut in behind.

*Decisive
Battle of
April 8.*

This, however, has not happened. What the dervishes did was to cross the Nile at Shendy and advance up the river as if to meet the British and Egyptian troops at Berber. They selected their ground at Dakhila, where the Atbara River joins the Nile. Meanwhile the British gunboats had pressed forward and captured Shendy, and the dervishes, who were 20,000 strong, were cut off from their supplies. The British advanced promptly to meet them in their intrenched position. Sir Herbert Kitchener commanded some 12,000 Egyptian troops, besides several battalions of British regulars. The fighting lasted several hours and was no mere skirmish. The dervishes, who were totally routed, left about 2,000 men dead upon the field. The British troops sustained very slight loss, while the Egyptian army seems to have sacrificed 50 or 60 men killed, with 300 or 400 wounded. The great slaughter of dervishes was evidently due in large part to the effective use of the terrible Maxim guns, which discharged bullets like a hail-storm. The railroad will now be pushed forward as fast as possible, and it is to be sup-

posed that the headquarters will be advanced to Shendy. The gunboats will have to wait for high water in order to get past the sixth cataract; and after that the advance to Khartoum ought to be quick work. The dervishes were composed of two main bodies of troops, one of them led by Osman Digna, who has somewhat recently composed his differences with the Khalifa, in order that the whole Soudanese world might make a united stand against the British. The Khalifa keeps his headquarters at Omdurman, opposite Khartoum. His troops were led in the fight of April 8 by the Emir Mahmoud, who was captured with all his belongings, while Osman Digna had the luck to escape.

*India and
English
Parties.*

The English are indeed giving a good account of themselves in this Nile campaign, and are plainly doing a necessary work for progress and civilization. It is a pity that they cannot show an equal claim upon the world's approval in their struggle with the tribesmen on the northwest frontiers of India. The British Liberals gain steadily whenever a by-election gives them a chance to show that the party pendulum is beginning to swing back; but they would gain more rapidly if they should concentrate vigorously in opposition to the series of blunders that has characterized the Indian policy of the Salisbury administration. The worst of these blunders, of course, is the needless, costly, and destructive war on the frontier. But there are other mistakes only less serious, among which are the enforcement of a press-gag law that is almost as arbitrary in its censorship as anything in Russia, while arrest and detention on suspicion without trial has also become a feature of the present government of India, and other serious grounds of criticism could readily be mentioned. It would seem that the Liberals must first decide among themselves who is to be their permanent leader before they can present as strong a front as the facts in the political situation would readily afford them. Mr. Gladstone is steadily growing feebler, and the sad news of his death may be expected at any time in the early future. It is reported that his literary executor and biographer is to be Mr. John Morley. His political heir, however, is not as yet distinctly visible. At one time it was supposed without doubt that Lord Rosebery would hold his own as the fully accepted head of the Liberal party; and there are signs that he is about to emerge from his retirement and throw himself actively again into political life. Leadership is the crying need of the Liberals, and until the party is reorganized it will have to look to the London newspapers for its opinions and guidance.

*Leadership and
Cabinet
Government.*

There has been very much more discussion, however, of the question upon whose shoulders Lord Salisbury's mantle should descend than about the future leadership of the Liberals. It seemed quite probable a few weeks ago that Lord Salisbury's health might compel him to retire altogether from official life. This event would have vacated at once the premiership and the Foreign Office. The friends of the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain—with whom the *London Times* seems now also to be identified—would doubtless do everything in their power to press that gentleman's claims at least to the Foreign Office, if not to the premiership, in case of Lord Salisbury's retreat to private life. It is more probable, however, that the Duke of Devonshire would become prime minister. The old-fashioned Tories are opposed to the rapid advance of Mr. Chamberlain, whom they still look upon as Liberal Unionist rather than as Conservative. They would probably rally around Mr. Arthur Balfour for the Foreign Office. The tendency to govern the country by the executive rather than by the legislative will is now being much commented upon in England. The cabinet decides upon its own policies, and it pushes them through the House of Commons with much less regard for debating than a few years ago. And the cabinet as a whole is ruled by its inner circle, which in turn reflects the will of the prime minister. There is much complaint that the House of Commons is losing its initiative and that the cabinet is growing autocratic. The past two or three administrations have witnessed precisely the same tendency in the United States, where the immense pressure upon Congress to subordinate its views to the policy preferred by the executive constitutes a wide departure from the spirit and intention of the Constitution, and also a decided change from the practice that formerly prevailed.

*Success of
the Irish
Bill.*

Mr. Gerald Balfour—who is Irish Secretary in the present ministry and, like his brother, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Balfour, a nephew of Lord Salisbury and a member of the "family ring" that is supposed to run the cabinet—has made himself a great man at a stroke by his remarkable success in securing the acceptance of his Irish Local Government bill. He had in a very frank and conciliatory way submitted the advance draft of his bill to the leaders of all parties, and particularly to the Irish members of Parliament themselves. The bill has been making its way rapidly and prosperously through the successive stages of Parliamentary consideration, and may be regarded as already safely upon the statute-books. Some of the

Orangemen have protested vehemently that this Tory measure is worse than Mr. Gladstone's proposed home rule, but nobody has given much attention to their complaints.

*Cecil Rhodes
"on Top"
Again.*

The march of events has been strengthening the British position in South Africa that was so rudely shaken by the criminal blunder of the Jameson raid. Mr. Cecil Rhodes has been in England the past month, and has found himself solid once more in the directorate of the British South Africa Company, with everybody relying upon him for the further development of Charterland. The success of his railroad projects has not only strengthened his personal hold upon the situation in the new regions north of the Transvaal, but has also put the touch of final certainty upon the supremacy of Great Britain in that part of the world. Furthermore, the partisans of Mr. Rhodes have secured an important victory in the Cape Colony elections, and it is considered altogether likely that he will soon be back in his old place as prime minister of Cape Colony, while directing the immense affairs of the South African Company and controlling the administration of the vast region known as Charterland.

*The Feder-
ation of
Australia.*

The month of March witnessed the completion of the work of the convention which had been sitting for two months in Melbourne elaborating the so-called Commonwealth bill for the creation of a united Australia. The month of April has in its turn witnessed a great agitation and discussion in the various colonies over the question of ratifying the constitution adopted by the Melbourne convention. All the colonies were represented in the convention except Queensland. If any three colonies ratify the scheme it will go into effect as respects such colonies, with the hope and expectation that the other colonies will in due time seek and gain admission to the union. It is not, however, certain that even three of the colonies will at once ratify the convention's scheme. Great opposition exists, and the fight will be a doubtful one. Nevertheless, the new activity of the European powers in the Pacific will doubtless have some effect to make the people of Australia realize the importance of the maxim that there is strength in unity. The matured project now under consideration has really been in the making for a number of years. In its present shape the bill not only provides for the direct popular election of the members of the lower house of the federal Parliament, but it abandons the original plan of electing the upper house by the colonial Parliaments.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From March 21 to April 22, 1898.)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

March 21.—The House passes the *Maine* relief bill.

March 22.—The Senate debates the national quarantine bill....The naval appropriation bill is reported to the House from committee.

March 23.—The Senate passes the *Maine* relief bill.... The House decides the contested election case of Thorp against Epes, of the Fourth Virginia District, in favor of Thorp.

March 24.—Mr. Thurston (Rep., Neb.) addresses the Senate on the Cuban question, advocating armed intervention....The House debates the naval appropriation bill.

March 25-26.—The House debates the naval appropriation bill.

March 28.—President McKinley sends to both houses the report of the *Maine* Court of Inquiry, accompanied by a message. In the Senate the documents are referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and in the House to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

March 29.—Resolutions on the Cuban question are introduced in both houses.

March 30.—The Senate passes the Alaska civil government bill....The House resumes consideration of the naval appropriation bill.

March 31.—The Cuban question is discussed in both houses.

April 1.—The House passes the naval appropriation bill, so amended as to provide for increasing the number of torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers from six to twelve each, and carrying a total of more than \$39,000,000 in direct appropriations.

April 4.—Speeches favoring intervention in Cuba are made in both houses.

April 5.—In the Senate five members speak in favor of an immediate declaration of war against Spain.

April 6.—The Senate debates the sundry civil appropriation bill....The House considers the army reorganization bill.

April 7.—The House recommittees the army reorganization bill, after striking out everything except the first two sections, providing for the three-battalion formation.

April 11.—President McKinley, in a message to Congress, asks authority to intervene in Cuba by force to reestablish peace and order in the island.

April 12.—The Cuban question is debated in both houses.

April 13.—The House passes, by a vote of 322 to 19, the resolutions reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, directing President McKinley to intervene in Cuba; there is much excitement and disorder.

April 14-15.—The Senate debates the Cuban intervention resolutions reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs....The House passes a bill settling title to lands in Indian Territory.

April 16.—The Senate passes the Cuban resolutions reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations by a vote of 67 to 21, and an amendment recognizing the independence of the republic of Cuba is adopted by a vote

of 51 to 37, and a further amendment disclaiming any intention to exercise sovereignty over the island, except for purpose of pacification, is agreed to unanimously.

April 18.—The House agrees to the Senate Cuban resolutions, with the exception of the amendment recognizing the present republic. Conferences between the



HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

houses finally lead to the Senate's acceptance of the resolutions in this form, and they go to President McKinley for approval.

April 21.—The Senate passes the bill providing for the enlistment of State militia under the national Government in time of war, amending it so as to make the term one year instead of three.

April 22.—After conference, the national volunteer bill is passed by both houses of Congress in amended form, with two years as the term of enlistment.

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

March 21.—Secretary Long names the two Brazilian cruisers recently purchased the *New Orleans* and the *Albany*.

March 23.—The monitors *Terror* and *Puritan* are ordered to join the fleet at Key West....The government auxiliary naval board purchases a steel tug at New York City.

March 24.—The dispatch boat *Dolphin* and the yacht *Mayflower* are placed in commission at the New York Navy Yard....Restrictions regarding enlistments in

the navy are removed....Admiral Sicard is relieved from command of the fleet at Key West on account of ill health, and Captain Sampson is ordered to succeed him.

March 25.—The Spanish report of the cause of the *Maine* disaster is received at Madrid....The United States purchases a first-class torpedo-boat built in Germany....Commodore Schley is ordered to command the flying squadron at Hampton Roads....Three large steam yachts and a tug are added to the auxiliary fleet for service as dispatch and patrol boats.

March 26.—The verdict of the *Maine* Court of Inquiry is communicated to the Spanish Government....The New York national guard and naval reserves are ordered to hold themselves in readiness for action.

March 27.—The United States cruisers *San Francisco* and *New Orleans* sail from England for this country.

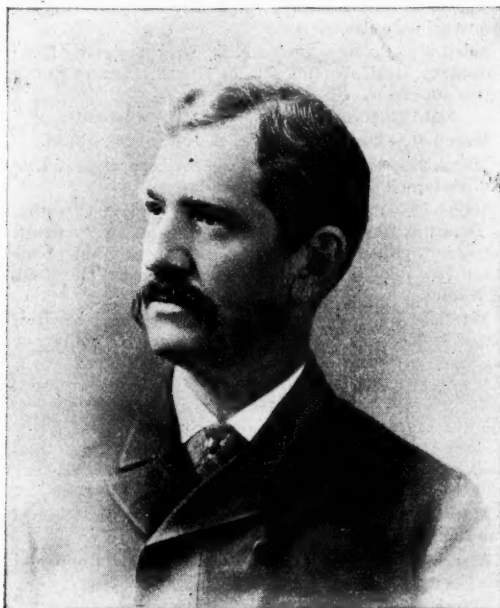
March 28.—The testimony taken by the *Maine* Court of Inquiry is made public....The Spanish Government announces that it will make no objection to the sending of relief to the Cuban *reconcentrados*....Commodore Schley takes command of the flying squadron.

March 29.—United States Minister Woodford holds a conference at Madrid with Premier Sagasta.

March 30.—The United States buys the steam yacht *Aegusa* in Sicily for \$300,000.

March 31.—Captain-General Blanco issues a decree abrogating the reconcentration edict of General Weyler in the western provinces of Cuba....Captain Sigsbee makes a statement regarding the *Maine* disaster to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee....New York Legislature votes \$1,000,000 as an emergency war fund.

April 1.—The Spanish cruisers *Vizcaya* and *Oquendo* sail from Havana....The Iowa Legislature appropriates \$500,000 for a war fund.



HON. CHARLES EMORY SMITH.

(Nominated April 21 as Postmaster-General to succeed Mr. Gary, who retires because of ill health.)



THE PRINCE OF WALES FIRING A MAXIM GUN.
(Mr. Maxim stands at his side.)

April 2.—It is announced that the Spanish torpedo-boat flotilla has reached the Cape Verde Islands....An 1,800-ton cruiser is purchased in England for the United States....It is ordered that salvage operations on the wreck of the *Maine* in Havana harbor be discontinued....Secretary Gage and Chairman Dingley, of the House Ways and Means Committee, hold a council with President McKinley on war-revenue measures.

April 4.—Pope Leo XIII. offers to mediate between Spain and Cuban insurgents, and urges Spain to suspend hostilities....Steamers are sent from Key West to Havana to bring home Americans....The flag is removed from the wreck of the *Maine*....Many Spaniards enlist in the volunteers at Havana....The Navy Department orders the immediate purchase of ten auxiliary cruisers.

April 5.—Consul-General Lee is ordered to return from Havana.

April 7.—In reply to a joint note from the European powers in the interest of peace, Señor Gullon, the Spanish foreign minister, states as the opinion of the cabinet that Spain has reached the "limit of international policy in the direction of conceding the demands and allowing the pretensions of the United States"....The diplomatic representatives in Washington of the six great European powers present a joint note to President McKinley expressing the hope that peace with Spain may be preserved; the President, in reply, declares that the war in Cuba must cease.

April 8.—The ram *Katahdin* joins the flying squadron in Hampton Roads.

April 9.—The Spanish cabinet decides to suspend hostilities in Cuba....The Spanish armored cruisers *Cristobal Colon* and *Infanta Maria Teresa* sail from Cadiz to join the torpedo flotilla at the Cape Verde Islands....The United States cruiser *Topeka* and the United States torpedo-boat *Somers* sail from England to the United

States....The *Massachusetts* joins the flying squadron....Consul-General Lee and the other American consuls in Cuba sail for the United States.

April 12.—Consul-General Lee declares before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that Spanish officials in Havana knew of a plot to blow up the *Maine*.

April 13.—The Spanish cabinet votes an extraordinary war credit....The Navy Department at Washington orders the purchase of the American line steamers *St. Paul* and *St. Louis*....The flying squadron sails from Hampton Roads on a practice cruise....The Michigan Legislature appropriates \$500,000 for emergency military purposes.

April 14.—A council of the Spanish cabinet decides to convoke the Cortes on April 20, five days earlier than the date set for its assembly....Negotiations for the sale of the cruiser *Garibaldi* by Italy to Spain are suspended....The cruiser *New Orleans*, lately purchased from the Brazilian Government, arrives at New York with the cruiser *San Francisco*.

April 15.—The British Government instructs the Jamaica authorities that coal will be contraband of war....Orders are issued to concentrate nearly all of the regular army of the United States at the Gulf ports of New Orleans, Mobile, and Tampa, and at Chickamauga Park....The Government charters the steamships *St. Louis*, *St. Paul*, *Paris*, and *New York*, of the American line....The Twenty-fifth Infantry, U. S. A., goes into camp at Chickamauga Park....The Massachusetts Legislature appropriates \$500,000 to increase the efficiency of the national guard.

April 16.—The Navy Department orders the purchase of the steamships *Yorktown* and *Juniata*....The army officials call for bids for the transportation of troops to Southern points.

April 18.—Commodore Howell is placed in command of the North Atlantic patrol fleet, consisting of the *Yosemite*, the *Prairie*, the *Yankee*, and the *Dixie*.

April 19.—United States troops from many garrisons move to the points of mobilization on the Gulf and at Chickamauga Park.

April 20.—President McKinley signs the resolutions of Congress and sends an ultimatum to Spain demanding that her land and naval forces withdraw from Cuba and requiring an answer before noon of April 23....The Spanish minister at Washington requests and receives his passports....The Spanish Cortes meets in Madrid; the Queen Regent reads a warlike speech from the throne.

April 21.—Before Minister Woodford can deliver the ultimatum of the United States to Spain he is notified by the Spanish Government that diplomatic relations with the United States are at an end; he then leaves Madrid for Paris, under guard, after intrusting legation affairs to the British embassy....After notifying representatives of foreign powers of its intention to blockade Havana, the Government at Washington orders the fleet at Key West under Admiral Sampson to sail....A blockade of the Philippine Islands by the Asiatic squadron under Commodore Dewey is decided on at Washington....The Navy Department buys the Brazilian warship *Nitheroy* and the yachts *Corsair* and *Penelope*....Rhode Island appropriates \$150,000 to equip militia....Enlistments of volunteers are reported throughout the Union....The Spanish Government orders out 80,000 reserves....Great Britain notifies Spain

that coal will be considered contraband of war....Spain lands 5,000 troops on the Canary Islands....Captain Sampson is raised to the rank of rear admiral.

April 22.—It is decided to issue a call for 100,000 volunteers....The Spanish merchantman *Buenaventura* is captured by the United States gunboat *Nashville* off Key West.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

March 23.—The New York Legislature passes the bill for the reform of the primaries (see page 587).

March 24.—The battleships *Kearsarge* and *Kentucky* are launched at Newport News.

March 25.—Democrats, Populists, and Free Silver Republicans in Oregon adopt a common platform.

March 29.—Governor Black, of New York, signs the primary reform bill.

March 31.—The New York Legislature adjourns.

April 5.—Municipal elections are held in many interior and Western cities. In Chicago a majority of the aldermen elected are pledged to oppose the granting of fifty-year franchises to street railroads; in Milwaukee David S. Rose, Silver Democrat and Populist, is chosen to the mayorship; in Kansas City, Mo., Lincoln, Neb., and Tacoma, Wash., the Republicans were generally successful.

April 6.—Governor Dyer (Rep.), of Rhode Island, is reelected by a large majority.

April 12.—A committee of the Nebraska Legislature reports that the amount of money lost to the State through negligent and dishonest officials is more than \$1,300,000.

April 14.—The Michigan Legislature concludes its extra session, having increased from 1 to 5 per cent. the tax on the business of express companies....Governor Wolcott, of Massachusetts, signs the bill providing for electrical executions.

April 21.—Postmaster-General Gary resigns office; President McKinley nominates Charles Emory Smith as his successor.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

March 21.—The Austrian Reichsrath reassembles.

March 22.—The annual conference of the British Liberal Federation opens at Leicester.

March 23.—By a vote of 207 to 7, the Italian Chamber of Deputies adopts the report recommending "political censure" against ex-Premier Crispi on account of his pecuniary relation to the Bologna branch of the Bank of Naples.

March 24.—The Chinese Government agrees to all of Russia's demands in the matter of leasing Port Arthur and Talien-Wan.

March 25.—Elections in Cape Colony result in a small majority for the Progressives....Signor Crispi resigns his seat in the Italian Chamber of Deputies....One hundred officers of the Russian Black Sea fleet and dock-yard officials are arrested, charged with bribery and corruption; Admiral Kopyloff is dismissed.

March 26.—Orders are issued for the mobilization of the British fleet at Hong Kong.

March 27.—Elections in Spain for the lower house of the Cortes are favorable to the Sagasta ministry.

March 28.—The German Reichstag adopts the naval bill without division.

March 29.—The British House of Commons appoints

a committee to consider the advisability of placing the Indian currency on a gold basis.

March 30.—The entire autonomist cabinet of Porto Rico resigns....The British House of Commons, by a vote of 243 to 138, rejects a bill to amend the Irish land laws in favor of the tenants and providing for restoration of evicted tenants.

April 4.—It is announced that England has arranged with China and Japan to take the port of Wei-Hai-Wei when the indemnity to Japan shali have been paid by China.

April 5.—The Radicals secure a majority in the Danish parliamentary elections.

April 11.—The elections to the Spanish Senate result in a large majority for the ministry.

INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL, AND FINANCIAL DOINGS.

March 22.—The Chinese loan is largely oversubscribed in Berlin.

March 24.—It is announced that the Bank of Spain will lend the Spanish Government about \$40,000,000, guaranteed by the new treasury bonds.

April 1.—South Wales coal miners to the number of 40,000 go out on strike.

April 2.—The Johnson Steel Company, of Cleveland, is reorganized as the Lorain Steel Company, with a capital of \$14,000,000.

April 11.—Many of the New England cotton-mill operatives on strike against reductions in wages return to work.

April 13.—Spanish 4s suffer a marked decline on the European exchanges.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

March 22.—Mr. Gladstone arrives at Hawarden.... The bark *Almy*, bound for Alaska, is found wrecked.



THE LATE GEN. JOAQUIN CRESPO.
(Killed in battle in Venezuela April 17, 1898.)

March 23.—Forty-eight men with the Newfoundland sealing steamer *Greenland* perish in the ice-floes while searching for seals.

March 26.—The Oxford-Cambridge boat-race is won by Oxford.

March 31.—An earthquake in California does serious damage, especially to the Mare Island Navy Yard.



THE LATE CARDINAL TASCHEREAU,
Archbishop of Quebec.

April 3.—Shawneetown, Ill., is flooded by a break in the Ohio River levee and many lives are lost....Avalanches in the Chilkoot Pass, Alaska, cause the death of more than 150 persons.

April 12.—The plant of the Pennsylvania Plate Glass Company in North Irwin, Pa., known as the largest independent glass works in the country, is destroyed by fire, at a loss of \$750,000.

OBITUARY.

March 20.—Dr. Joseph Henry Allen, distinguished Unitarian clergyman and author, 78.

March 21.—Gen. George Washington Rains, Confederate veteran, 81.

March 24.—Rev. Dr. G. H. Emerson, well-known Universalist clergyman and editor, 75.

March 25.—James Payn, English novelist and journalist, 68....Truman P. Handy, prominent Cleveland banker, 91.

March 26.—Representative John Simpkins, of the Thirtieth Massachusetts District, 36.

March 27.—Mrs. Delia Tudor Stewart Parnell, daughter of the American Commodore Stewart and mother of the late Charles Stewart Parnell, 83....Abner Cheney Goodell, of Salem, Mass., a well-known inventor, 93.

March 28.—Anton Seidl, orchestral conductor, 48.

March 29.—Judge James Goggin, of Chicago, 55.... Judge George W. Harmon, oldest member of the Ver

mont bar, 86....William H. Edmonds, founder and editor of the *Southern States' Magazine*, of Baltimore.

March 31.—James L. Wolcott, formerly Chancellor of Delaware, 56.

April 4.—District Attorney Eugene Burlingame, of Albany.

April 7.—Margaret Mather, the actress, 38....Rev. William M. Thayer, author of books for the young, 78....Lieut. David Daniels, navigating officer of the coast-defense ram *Katahdin*, 42.

April 8.—Gen. William P. Hardin, of the Confederate army, 82....Ex-Congressman S. S. Turner, of Virginia.

April 11.—Rev. Dr. Frederick William Conrad, for many years editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, 82.

April 12.—Cardinal Taschereau, of Canada, 78.

April 15.—Robert Purvis, last survivor of the original American Anti-Slavery Society, 88....Andrew Akin, Kansas pioneer, 88.

April 16.—Robert M. McLane, formerly United States Minister to France, 83....Charles W. Hackett, chairman of the New York Republican State Committee, 44.

April 17.—Gen. Joaquin Crespo, formerly President of Venezuela, 54.

April 19.—George Parsons Lathrop, poet and novelist, 47.

April 21.—United States Senator Edward Cary Wal-
thall, of Mississippi, 67.

SUMMER AND AUTUMN GATHERINGS OF 1898.

FOLLOWING are the announcements of some of the more important conventions and assemblies for various purposes to be held during the coming six months:

SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary in Boston August 22-27. It is expected that this will be the most important scientific gathering ever held in the United States. As a number of foreign scientists will take part and foreign institutions send delegates, the meeting will have an international character. During and immediately preceding the general meeting several affiliated societies will meet in Boston, including the American Forestry Association, the American Geological Society, the American Chemical Society, the Society of Economic Entomologists, the Society for Promoting Engineering Education, the Society for the Promotion of Agricultural Science, the American Mathematical Society, and other important bodies.

The National Educational Association is to meet this year at Washington, D. C., July 7-12.

The American Society of Mechanical Engineers will meet at Niagara Falls, from May 31 to June 3, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers at Omaha, June 27-29, and the American Society of Civil Engineers at Detroit, July 26-29. The annual convention of the American Institute of Architects will be held in Washington, D. C., November 1.

The American Academy of Medicine and the American Medical Association will meet at Denver June 4-10, and the American Institute of Homœopathy at Omaha, June 24-29.

The American Philological Association will hold its annual meeting at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., July 5.

MEETINGS IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORM.

The American Social Science Association will hold its annual five days' session at Saratoga, beginning August 29. Papers will be read and discussed in the departments of Health, Jurisprudence, Education, Finance, and Social Economy. These sessions will follow meetings of the American Bar Association and the International Law Association at the same place, beginning August 22.

The quarter-centennial meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction will take place in

New York City May 18-25. This body held its first meeting in New York twenty-five years ago and has met annually since that time. It now has a membership of nearly 1,200 in the United States, Mexico, and Canada. It is announced that the National Prison Association will meet at Indianapolis in October.

The annual convention of the National Association of Labor Commissioners and Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics will be held at Detroit June 14-16, and the International Association of Factory Inspectors will hold a session at Boston September 5.

The annual meeting of the National Municipal League and the sixth National Conference for Good City Government will be held at Indianapolis May 11-13. The principal features will be the president's address by James C. Carter, New York City, the secretary's review of the year's developments along municipal lines by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, and the report of the Committee of Ten appointed at the Louisville Conference, to be presented by Horace E. Deming, of New York. The various features of the report will be discussed in supplemental papers by Dr. Albert Shaw, of New York, Charles Richardson, of Philadelphia, Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, of New York, and others, including Mayor Quincy and Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Gov. Hazen B. Pingree, Samuel B. Capen, Dr. E. R. L. Gould, and Lucius B. Swift.

The League of American Municipalities will hold its second annual convention at Detroit August 1-4. Memberships in this body are held by municipalities throughout the United States and Canada. The conventions are attended by the mayors and other officials of these cities.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CONGRESSES.

An International Mining Congress will meet at Salt Lake City July 6-9. This organization is the outgrowth of the Gold Mining Convention at Denver last year. Its aims are, in brief, to promote the interests and develop the resources of the mining industry in North and South America.

The Farmers' National Congress will hold its next meeting at Fort Worth, Texas, December 6-14. It is expected that Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and nearly all American countries will be represented by delegates.

The next convention of the National Association of Credit Men will be held at Detroit June 22-24. The American Bankers' Association will meet in Denver about September 1.

RELIGIOUS GATHERINGS.

The great International Christian Endeavor Convention will be held this year at Nashville, on the exposition grounds, July 6-11. Although this will be the seventeenth of these annual conventions, it will be the first one to be held on Southern soil.

Mr. Moody's unique series of conferences, held annually for Bible study at Northfield, Mass., will begin this year with the World's Student Conference, July 1-10, which will be addressed by eminent speakers. The Young Women's Christian Association Conference will fill the time from July 13 to July 22, and the General Conference for Christian Workers from July 29 to August 18. During July and August Camp Northfield, for young men, will be open at very small expense for tent and board.

The National Council of Congregational Churches will assemble at Portland, Ore., July 7-13. The Congregational Home Missionary Society will meet at Cleveland in June, and the American Missionary Association and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in October, the former at Concord, N. H., and the latter at Grand Rapids, Mich.

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church will meet in Washington, D. C., October 5. Of the purely ecclesiastical meetings of the year, this will doubtless be the most important. This body meets triennially.

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew will hold its annual convention in Baltimore September 28-October 2.

General assemblies of the various churches holding the Presbyterian system are to be held this year as follows: Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, commonly known as the Presbyterian Church North, at Warsaw, Ind., May 19; Presbyterian Church in the United States, commonly known as the Presbyterian Church South, at New Orleans, May 19; United Presbyterian Church of North America, at Omaha, May 25; Cumberland Presbyterian Church, at Marshall, Mo., May 19, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada, at Montreal, June 8. The General Synod of the Reformed Church in America will meet at Asbury Park, N. J., June 1.

The national Baptist anniversaries will be held this year at Rochester, N. Y., May 16-22. The Baptist Publication and Educational Societies, however, are to meet at Norfolk, Va., May 5, in connection with the Southern Baptist Convention.

Denominational meetings of young people will be held as follows:

The Baptist Young People's Union of America is to hold its eighth international convention at Buffalo, July 14-17.

The Young People's Christian Union of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ will hold its fifth biennial convention at Toledo, Ohio, June 16-19.

The Young People's Christian Union of the United Presbyterian Church of North America will hold its tenth annual convention at Saratoga, August 3-8.

The ninth annual convention of the National Young People's Christian Union of the Universalist Church will be held at Chicago, July 13-20.

The third convention of the Luther League of America will be held in New York City, October 19-21.

The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America meets this year in Boston, August 10-12.

MEETINGS OF WOMEN.

The National Congress of Mothers will convene again in Washington, D. C., May 2, and will remain in session a week. Provision has been made for a large attendance, and addresses will be given by prominent women on topics covering a wide field of interest.

The fourth biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs will be held in Denver, June 22-27. This will be a notable meeting, for the reason that women of the East and West will be brought together as never before in the history of the club movement.

REUNIONS AND ENCAMPMENTS.

The thirty-second national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic will be held in Cincinnati, September 5-10. In the same month the Sons of Veterans will hold their annual encampment at Omaha.

The triennial conclave of Knights Templar will be held at Pittsburg, October 10-14. At Indianapolis will be held the biennial convention of the Supreme Lodge and the Uniform Rank Encampment of the Order of Knights of Pythias, August 22.

The Scotch-Irish Society of America has planned to hold its annual congress in Chicago during the first week of June.

The League of American Wheelmen will assemble at Indianapolis August 9-13.

EXPOSITIONS.

The Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha will be open during the months of June-October inclusive, and during that time a number of conventions will be held at Omaha. The dates of several of these are noted elsewhere in this article.

The International Health Exposition will be the center of interest in questions of domestic sanitation and municipal hygiene in New York City during the month of May. The exhibits, particularly in the trained nurses' department, promise to have a distinct educational value.

MUSIC FESTIVALS.

The national Saengerfest will be held at Davenport, Iowa, July 28-31. This annual singing festival of the Northwestern Saengerbund will probably be one of the largest conventions to be held in the middle West this year. At least fifteen hundred singers will participate, representing sixty or more societies among the German-American people of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Indiana, and Kentucky. This festival is a biennial occasion.

The usual "May festivals" will be held by musical organizations in many American cities, east and west. In October will occur the famous Worcester festivals.

SUMMER SCHOOLS.

The coming season at Chautauqua will mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of that institution. The general session will open June 29, the collegiate department July 9, the Missionary Institute July 30, and the assembly August 2, with closing exercises August 22.

Among the summer schools devoted to special lines of work Syracuse University offers a two weeks' course in sociology, to be conducted by Prof. John R. Commons and Prof. James H. Hamilton. The sessions of this school will begin June 27. The summer law school of the University of Virginia, which was established as long ago as 1870, will hold its twenty-ninth session this year.

THE WAR QUESTION IN CARTOONS.



DEPART.—From the *Criterion* (New York).



READY.—From the *Criterion* (New York).

A GAIN through the month of April, as in March, the American cartoonists were occupied almost exclusively with one absorbing topic—the crisis in the affairs of Spain and the United States. The European cartoonists were only beginning to deal with that situation when the final rupture occurred on April 21. We have a large assortment of their offerings on other themes; but our readers will scarcely care this month for drawings on the Chinese question, on Lord Salisbury's temporary retirement, or on the Australian struggle over the question of federation. The two cartoons at the top of this page are reproduced from striking cover designs published by the *Criterion* on successive weeks last month. Mr. Wagner's drawing is strong and impressive and is notable for its refinement. In the first of the two, Columbia, as the champion of downfallen Cuba, orders Spain to depart. In the second, Columbia has taken her stand on the quarter-deck, and a row of our warships appears in the distance on the horizon. At the bottom of the page is one of the characteristic

cartoons of *El Ahuizote* (Mexico), in which Uncle Sam is offering Señor Sagasta his choice between Cuban freedom and war. As it turns out, the Cubans get their freedom while Señor Sagasta takes his war.



UNCLE SAM: "Take your choice, Señor Sagasta, FREE CUBA or WAR!"
From *El Ahuizote* (Mexico).

PEACE OR WAR—TAKE YOUR CHOICE.—From the *World*.

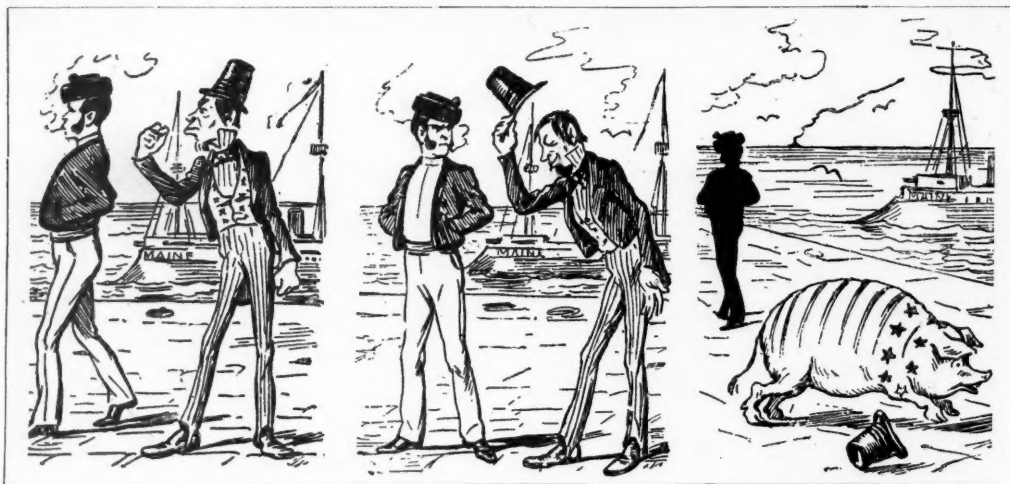
Mr. Bush, of the *New York World*, has turned out, in the course of the month, a great variety of striking work. The four cartoons on this page are selected from a large number, all dealing with the Spanish question, and all of them boldly conceived and powerfully drawn. We commend particularly the one in the lower right-hand corner to those excellent people who have insisted all along that they could not, for the life of them, understand what the war was about. The phrase "Remember the Maine" may be a good fighting motto for

THE COMMISSION.—From the *World* (New York).

the navy; but the thing always to be kept in mind—"lest we forget, lest we forget"—is the fiendish career of the Spaniards in Cuba, and the moral duty that rests upon us to drive them out of the western hemisphere.

All of the cartoons on the following page are from the recent Spanish papers published either in Madrid or Barcelona. The cartoonists of Spain always represent

"VAMOOSE!"—From the *World* (New York)."LORD GOD OF HOSTS, BE WITH US YET, LEST WE FORGET—LEST WE FORGET!"—From the *World* (New York).



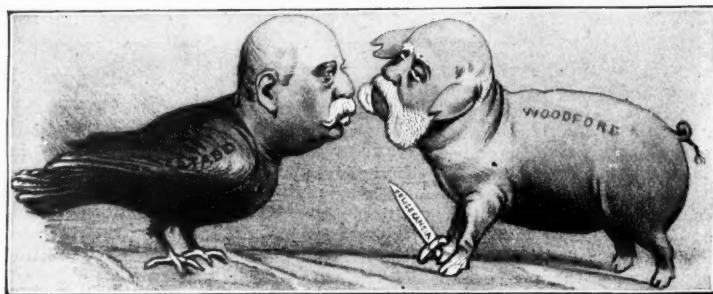
UNCLE SAM: "Now that he turns his shoulder I will give him such a lick it will be the lick of the century."

"Eh?"
"Oh, hello! I have the pleasure to salute you, Señor."

From *El Nacional* (Barcelona).

The moral of the foregoing is given in the old Catalonian proverb, "*Qui amansa y no pega per bestia queda*" (He who makes a bluff and does not make it good is a dirty slob).

America as a hog. In the cartoon at the top of the page, for instance, Uncle Sam is represented threatening Spain by sending the ship *Maine* to Havana, whereupon Spain turns to take revenge, and Uncle Sam runs away in the shape of a hog. In the second cartoon the American hog is personated by Minister Woodford; while the Spanish nation takes the form of a dove with the head of Señor Gullon, the foreign minister. In the lower right-hand corner President McKinley is represented as a hog dressed in the Stars and Stripes, attempting in a treacherous and cowardly manner to stab the Spanish lion through the bars of a cage. In the



THE COOING AND BILLING OF DOVES!—From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

lower left-hand corner is a carnival cartoon, in which America in the form of a hog is represented as mingling in the gay throng and making advances to Spain, represented by a fair lady. We could multiply such cartoons, but these are enough to show the nature of Spanish wit.



UNCLE SAM AT THE CARNIVAL AT SPAIN.
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).



THE SPANISH LION: "If I could only break the cage and get at him!"—From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).



TACKLE THE BIRD, OF COURSE.

SEÑOR SAGASTA: "If I don't fight the bird they'll both tackle me. Now, what had I better do, I wonder?"
From the *Journal* (New York).



HOW GENERAL LEE HELD THE SITUATION.
From *El Ahuizote* (Mexico).



TAKE THAT!—From *Cuba Española* (Havana).



ISN'T THIS A POSSIBILITY?—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



UNCLE SAM (to the ambassadors, who had used French): "I only speak American, and I don't care for advice. Good-day!"

Mr. Homer Davenport, of the *New York Journal*, has had a very active month, and we fear he has drawn some cartoons in the excitement of the moment that he may live to regret. He was so ardent for action and so impatient of diplomatic delays that a number of his drawings reflect severely, and, as we think, very unjustly, upon President McKinley. Not because we agree with the sentiment of those cartoons, but in order that this department of the *REVIEW* may fairly reflect the various points of view that were prevalent in April, 1898—for the benefit of future readers who will turn the leaves of our bound volumes—we print two of Mr. Davenport's mildest jibes at the President. In one of them he represents Mr. McKinley as an old lady vainly trying to sweep back the tide of the Congressional and popular will. In another he pokes fun at the once commonly mentioned resemblance between McKinley

and Napoleon. Next month, undoubtedly, we shall be able to reproduce cartoons from Mr. Davenport's pencil in which the President will be treated in a very much handsomer fashion. At the top of this page Uncle Sam is represented as giving his answer to the joint note of the powers. Mr. Davenport should certainly remember that Uncle Sam in that instance spoke through the mouth of President McKinley.

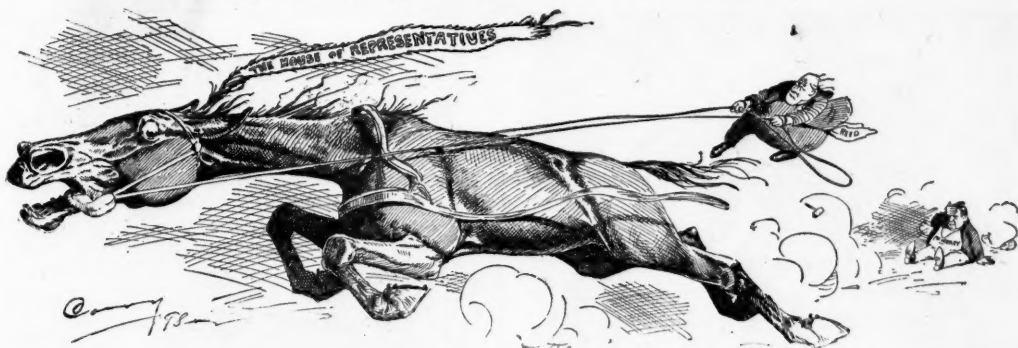
On the opposite page Mr. Neelan, of the *New York Herald*, turns the tables on Congress in two cartoons, which were drawn just after the President's message was sent in and while Congress seemed to be taking an undue time to agree upon resolutions. The House, however, as Mr. Corey remarks in the top cartoon, swung off at a rapid gait; and the delay was really due—as witness Uncle Sam's yawning at the bottom of the page—to a three days' debate in the Senate.



ANOTHER OLD WOMAN TRIES TO SWEEP BACK THE SEA.
From the *Journal* (New York).



AND THEY CALLED HIM NAPOLEON.
From the *Journal* (New York).



THEY'RE OFF.—From the *Journal* (New York).



"WELL, I'M WAITING NOW."—From the *Herald* (New York).



BEFORE AND AFTER TAKING—RESPONSIBILITY.
From the *Herald* (New York).



A—H—H! WILL THEY NEVER STOP TALKING!
From the *Journal* (New York).



COLUMBIA'S NEW EASTER BONNET.
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



JOHN BULL: "What a horrible bluff those fellows are giving each other! I'll bet there'll be a scrap here in a little while and my lanky cousin will wipe up the earth with the Don."—From *Wasp* (San Francisco).

Several of the cartoons on this page point pleasantly to the fact that John Bull is taking an unwontedly friendly interest in the affairs of the United States just now. And certainly it is true that Uncle Sam is appreciative of John Bull's bluff but honest approval. The sympathy and good-will of our English friends in this present year will avail, if we mistake not, to wipe out all old scores and grudges—which, after all, involved no sacred principles on either side, but only such differences as common sense can adjust.



UNCLE SAM: "Cash for old cruisers!"—From *La Correspondencia de España* (Madrid).



"BLOOD THICKER THAN WATER."

"The present friendly understanding happily existing between Great Britain and the United States becomes popular on both sides of the Atlantic."—From *Punch* (London).



SHE HAS TROUBLES OF HER OWN.
From the *Herald* (New York).



"OH! DON'T GO TO WAR, SAM. IT WOULD JUST KILL ME."—*Post* (Cincinnati).



THE SEE-SAW OF NATIONS.
The Anglo-Saxons hold the balance of power.—From *Judge* (New York).

TWO GREAT AMERICAN TREATIES:

ONE WITH RUSSIA—RATIFIED; ONE WITH DENMARK— DEFERRED.

BY W. MARTIN JONES.

I.—SECRETARY SEWARD'S POLICY OF EXPANSION.

IT is not possible for the outside world to tell how much of truth and how much of fiction come from "reliable sources" when great state questions are under discussion and matters of international moment are receiving the attention of international agencies. The proper protection of state interests and the due observance of the amenities between nations demand a reasonable and many times a most scrupulous observance of the rights and the possible susceptibilities of contracting or interested parties. Nations deal with one another from quite a different position than that occupied by individuals. Courts of law and equity are open for the redress of wrongs suffered by men. The dream of the Utopian of the nineteenth century when nations, too, may file their briefs in courts of competent jurisdiction has not yet been realized, and they still look to the arbitrament of arms as the recourse when diplomacy fails. For this reason diplomacy, in its best and highest sense, has long been the acme of statecraft, and is cultivated in its purity and highest excellence by the best and wisest men of every civilized nation. It need not, then, be so great a matter of surprise that truth and fiction blend so frequently in "authentic" stories respecting incidents that are pending between nations.

A few days since the telegraph conveyed the intelligence around the world that the United States Government had in effect concluded the purchase of the Danish West India Islands, and it only waited an appropriation by Congress to complete the bargain and the transfer of the sovereignty. The following day saw the wires burdened with an elaborate denial of the story—all from "reliable sources." Another day told the public that Congress was about to appropriate \$5,000,000 for the purchase of the islands—with no suggestion that the administration had concluded a treaty or even entered into negotiations with the owner of the property. There is no reason, however, to doubt the statement that the subject of the purchase of one or more of the Danish Leeward Islands has very recently re-

ceived the consideration of the administration of the United States as well as that of members and committees of the two houses of Congress.

To what extent this movement has advanced is not at all an easy matter for one outside the charmed circle of the Department of State to an-



WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
(In 1861.)

swer. It is well that it is so. There is nothing yet to indicate to those on the outside whether negotiations between the governments of Denmark and the United States have been reopened for the purpose of securing a renewal of the treaty for the transfer of two of the islands that was once agreed upon or for the making of an entirely new treaty in reference to the subject. It is proper, however, to observe in this connection, and in view of so much "reliable information" that has filled the daily press for several weeks past on the subject of the Danish purchase, that the initial step in the peaceful transfer of foreign territory is not an appropriation by the legislative branch of a government of a specific amount of money to be used in such purchase. Such an act would be the extreme of legislative presumption. Appropriations for the acquisition of foreign real property have never been known to anticipate nego-

tiations for its purchase. It would not, then, seem to be a violent presumption to assume that the administration has this subject under advisement, and that it has made some progress toward a renewal of the conditions that existed when Andrew Johnson retired from and Gen. U. S. Grant assumed the duties of President of the United States.

At the St. Louis convention the Republican party, in a very apt and diplomatic declaration, pledged itself to the policy of securing a "proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies" by the purchase of one or more of the Danish islands. Since the incoming of the present administration the subject of this declaration of the Republican platform has received much attention at the hands of the daily press of the nation, and not a little misconception of the subject has obtained throughout the country. A fair illustration of this misapprehension is contained in a leading editorial that appeared a few weeks ago in a well-known daily paper published in New York State, under the caption "The Danish Islands." Two paragraphs of this editorial were as follows :

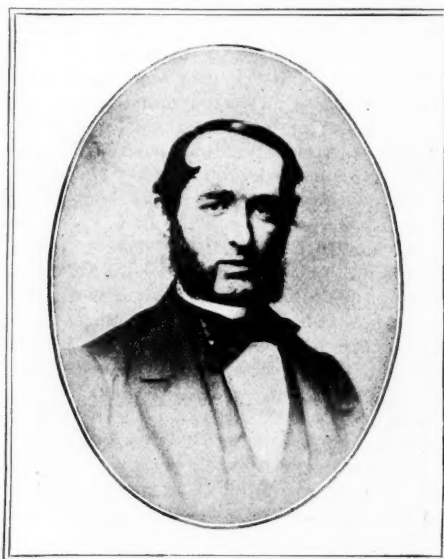
These islands have been for sale for many years at a very reasonable price. Our Government has no moral right to declare that Denmark shall forever own them, and it cannot prevent a change of sovereignty in case Denmark chooses to abandon them. The only proper course to prevent a change in sovereignty to another European power is for our Government to pay a reasonable sum and raise the American flag. It is a case in which a dog-in-the-manger policy is dangerous and unjust.

The convention at St. Louis took the right view of the matter and the purchase of the islands should be undertaken. Secretary Seward wanted to buy them, but he was not supported by Congress because our debt was then large and pressing.

It is fair and only an act of justice to a friendly nation, as well as a recognition of the truth of history, that two very pronounced statements in this editorial should be materially modified. There is no sign hung on the Danish islands advertising them "For Sale," nor is it true that the reason they were not purchased by the United States Government thirty years ago was because Secretary Seward was not supported by Congress on account of "*our debt being then large and pressing.*" These are not very material facts in the case, but the student of history, at least, will justify a correction that will place the responsibility for the failure of this country to acquire title to part of the holdings of Denmark in the western hemisphere where it belongs ; and no one who loves fair play will fail to commend a modification that will not unnecessarily wound the sensitive nature of a people who have shown

in many ways their kindly feelings for the people and Government of the United States.

The nation has come a long way from the time when William H. Seward, looking into the future with the foresight of true statesmanship, conceived the great importance to the nation and to the nation's future welfare of its becoming the owner of valuable real-estate properties then belonging to foreign countries. The present generation is more or less familiar with the events that crowded upon the closing days of the great rebellion—some of it by having been actors in one way or another in or witnesses of those days that saw the lifting of the black cloud that had hung so heavy above the nation for four long years,



FREDERICK W. SEWARD.

(In 1865, prior to the attempt on his life.)

and others of it by the frequent perusal of historical pages that tell the story of the most gigantic struggle any nation ever had for the preservation of its own existence and of the integrity of its vast dominion.

It is now thirty-three years since the memorable scene at Appomattox that in effect terminated the great war, since the assassin's bullet closed the mortal career of the great President, and since another assassin's knife nearly terminated the life of his Secretary of State. And these events as the world now looks back upon them through the vista of nearly one-third of a century have been growing obscure—except to those who were a part of them—and some of them are nearly

forgotten. They were real events to the writer, manifest and conspicuous, for he was in the presence of some of the great actors when the first news came from Appomattox; sitting a few feet away he heard the sharp report of the pistol-shot of John Wilkes Booth; was a mourner in the procession that followed the remains of Abraham Lincoln from the portals of the White House; and watched in the shadows that seemed to grow deeper day by day as they hung over the nation while it waited, in breathless suspense, the result of the murderous attack on the great Secretary and his son, Frederick W. Seward. And what a relief came to the nation when the news was confirmed from the Seward homestead that both the Secretary and his assistant were practically out of danger! It was not many weeks before the former was at his desk in the old Department, but the latter did not even gain consciousness until after fourteen days following the murderous assault upon him. His life hung by a slender thread for weeks after that, and not until November 2, 1865, a period of six months and nineteen days following the assassination of the President, did he resume his duties at the Department. The injury to the Assistant Secretary required an operation on his skull in the removal of parts of it that were creating a pressure on the brain and the insertion of a silver plate in the place of the shattered bone. When he resumed his seat at his desk in the Department he wore a skull-cap on his head and has continued to wear such a cap till the present time. Mention is made of these facts as incidents that led to the subsequent trip of Mr. Seward and his son Frederick to the West India Islands.

A few months after the Department resumed its normal condition and the Secretary and his assistant were again at their posts of duty an excellent picture of them, in company with the chiefs of bureaus in the State Department, was made by a Washington artist. A copy of that picture, with the autographs of the originals, hangs above the desk of the writer and has hung there for many long years—a remembrance from the great men who are pictured in it. Of the nine who sat for the picture two only are living now. The sadly disfigured face of the Secretary—the result of the accident of April 5, 1865, and of the assassin's knife nine days after—and the ever-present cap on the head of his son are continual reminders of that hapless Good Friday in 1865, and as the writer looks up in the faces of the father and son he sees them as he saw them thirty-two years ago when, amid deplorable family affliction, they were struggling on in the line of duty, fulfilling the highest obligation a citizen owes his country—fighting her battles

in the arena of international diplomacy and winning victories that are to-day no less memorable and were then no less pregnant with stupendous consequences to the nation than are and were its great victories won by the nation's other heroes on the field of carnage. Remembering these men as they were and remembering those other men who touched elbows with them in the nation's onward and upward march—Lincoln and Grant, Seward and Sherman, Sumner and Sheridan, and their many contemporaries—the writer is prompted many times to exclaim, "Truly, there were giants in those days!"

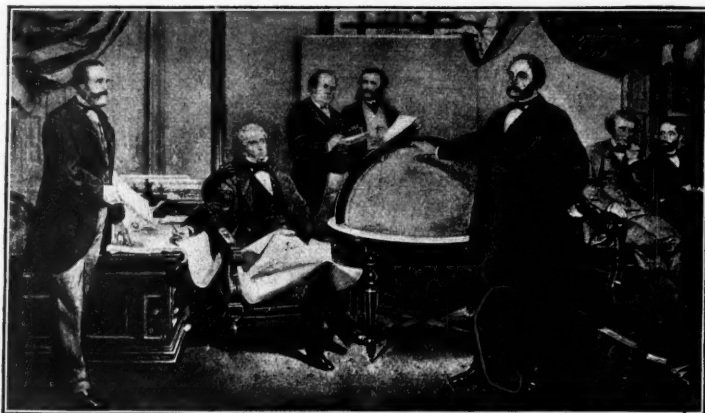
The War of the Rebellion made very manifest one of the weakest and most vulnerable points in the whole governmental system of the American nation. The nation was at war with a belligerent power. It was compelled to defend itself and its great commerce against piratical attacks from a power that held equal privileges with itself, and in some cases superior advantages, in the ports of neutral nations. Its ships of war were given only the same rights in these foreign and sometimes distant ports that were possessed by those of its enemy, and those were to take on certain supplies, remain in port a limited time, and in certain cases be prevented from sailing from the port of a neutral power in pursuit of a war vessel or piratical craft, a filibuster or a blockade-runner of the enemy until that craft had a certain number of hours' start and time enough to escape. All these conditions and circumstances led the Secretary of State to the conclusion that one of the first duties of this Government, on the close of hostilities and the reconstruction of the State governments of the misguided citizens of the South, was to secure adequate facilities for the accommodation of vessels of the United States in ports of its own when at distant points from home. And then, it is not the disclosure of a state secret to say that William H. Seward was a man who believed in "Greater America." In his biography, written by his son, is given the following extract from a speech made by Mr. Seward at St. Paul in September, 1860, during the first Lincoln campaign and at a time when the possibility of secession was scarcely thought of in the Northern States and the purchase of Russian America was as remote in men's minds as the annexation of the north pole to the United States:

Standing here and looking far off into the Northwest, I see the Russian as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports, and towns, and fortifications on the verge of this continent as the outposts of St. Petersburg; and I can say: "Go on and build up your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic Ocean; they will yet become the outposts of my own country—

monuments of the civilization of the United States in the Northwest."

In less than seven years from the date when this speech was uttered by the great American commoner, the hand of the speaker traced the midnight treaty that transferred that immense territory, with all its adjacent islands, from the sovereignty of autocratic Russia to that of the great republic. With what gigantic strides events sometimes move! The writer is tempted to dwell a moment on the Alaskan incident before further reference to the proposed purchase of a part of the Leeward Islands. He is particularly disposed to do this because of a popular misunderstanding in reference to the transaction and of its bearing upon the subsequent negotiations for the purchase of the Danish islands, although the treaty for the cession of Russian America was not signed by the contracting parties until almost fifteen months after Mr. Seward went on a voyage of inspection to the West Indies. And then a further reason for what at first may seem an unwarranted digression from the principal subject of this article is that the Alaskan incident fills an exceedingly interesting page in the history of the nation and of the men who contributed so largely to make it what it is. The writer was in touch with much that has gone into the story of these interesting days of the post-war and reconstruction period, but he is indebted for many facts that he draws upon for this divergence to the biography of Mr. Seward and to subsequent personal interviews with the author of it.

It is very evident that Mr. Seward had never lost sight of his prophetic declaration, made at St. Paul in 1860, when in his masterly rhetoric, speaking as if to a bystander, he told the Russian, far away on the Northwest seacoast, to go on and build outposts for his own great nation—to become monuments to American civilization. Subsequently, when he was bearing on his own shoulders the great responsibilities of the foreign relations of that same nation, he learned, as no other man in the country's service could learn, under what immense disadvantages the Government labored in not having proper naval and coaling stations at points more or less remote from our own long lines of almost undefended seacoast. It was then that he thought of the



THE SIGNING OF THE "MIDNIGHT TREATY" FOR THE CESSION OF ALASKA.

outposts, the islands, and the seaports of Russian America and of the many beautiful harbors looking out on the Caribbean Sea and farther Atlantic Ocean.

II.—THE ALASKA TREATY.

This nation will never forget the sympathy and the many acts of courtesy and of material support extended to it by the Czar and the government of Russia during the trying ordeal of the great civil war, and not a few of these acts were especially timely, as well as most delicate and discriminating, in view of the attitude of some of the other great powers toward the great republic at the time referred to. It has always seemed a strange circumstance to those whose limited opportunities have not enabled them to discern the secret incentives that prompt nations to deeds—the warm friendship that from time to time has been very manifest and pronounced between (what the American people are proud to think) the freest nation in the world and the nation that that world is prone to point to as the most despotic. There are good reasons for this fraternity of feeling, however, and for the present it is sufficient to point to the very natural desire of the Bear of Russia that her immediate neighbors shall not benefit by any undue acquisitions in other lands, while the heart of every true American must naturally warm toward a government that by one touch of its magic wand loosed the chains from more than 20,000,000 of bondmen.

During the year 1866 an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate the Czar of Russia. The occasion was opportune, and Mr. Seward at once instructed our minister at St. Petersburg personally, and in the name of the United States Government, to congratulate the Emperor of all the

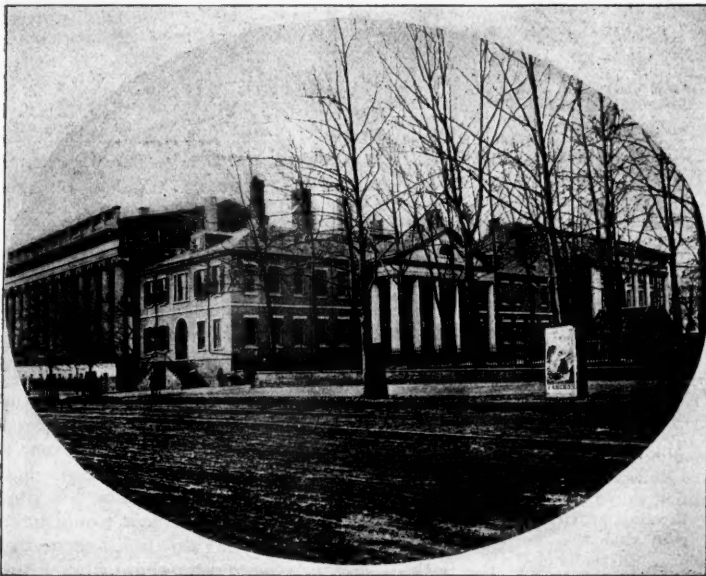
Russias upon his escape and to convey to him an expression of the sincere good-will and friendship of the people of America. This action on the part of the Secretary of State, and without doubt at his suggestion, was quickly followed by the adoption by the two houses of Congress of a very complimentary resolution of greeting to "his imperial majesty and to the Russian nation" upon his providential escape from danger. Thereupon the Government sent a special envoy and a war vessel—the double-turreted monitor *Miantonomah*—to convey him across the sea and to St. Petersburg especially to bear this greeting to the Emperor of the Russias. All this could but be most gratifying to the Russian people, and it most admirably opened the way for negotiations for the purchase of those "outposts of St. Petersburg" along the coast of the Northwest.

It was Russia's friendship for the United States that made negotiations for the sale of her American possessions not altogether an unwelcome subject for discussion when first presented to the Russian minister at Washington by Mr. Seward. An agreement was quickly reached. The question of compensation seems to have been easily adjusted, and probably with less discussion than would commonly occur in the sale and purchase of an ordinary residence. Two nations were making a trade. They were accustomed to deal in large figures. The acreage of each went far into the millions. Their populations, their

revenues, their annual budgets never fell below eight and nine figures. One had a valuable residence. It was willing to part with it. The other was willing to buy. The owner says I will accept \$10,000,000 for it. The prospective purchaser says I will give you \$5,000,000 for it. The owner says I will split the difference—taking \$7,500,000. The other says call it an even \$7,000,000 and it is a bargain. Agreed, said the first. And so the contract was made, and Russian America, all those "seaports, and towns, and fortifications on the verge of this continent," once "the outposts of St. Petersburg," were stipulated to be sold to the United States for a paltry \$7,000,000—about the price of two war vessels. The Russian Fur Company, however, had some vested interests in the country which Mr. Seward earnestly desired should be removed by the Russian Government, and the trifle of \$200,000 was added to the purchase price to provide for that expense—thus making the actual pecuniary consideration \$7,200,000. But this negotiation between Mr. Stoeckl, the Russian minister at Washington, and Mr. Seward did not close the incident. It had all to be submitted to the government at St. Petersburg.

One of the most dramatic and at the same time important chapters in the story of the life of the great American statesman and diplomatist who so successfully presided over the foreign relations of the Government of the United

States during the stormy period of the administrations of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson is that of the final scene in the negotiations for acquiring title to that vast territory theretofore known as Russian America—the drafting and signing of the treaty of transfer. Dramatic because of its wonderful environments, drawn by the pen of the great statesman at the midnight hour when other men slept, or, if awake at the capital of the nation, awake only to outgeneral an administration that had fallen on evil days and, in the philosophy of many, was deserving of defeat in every measure that emanated from its portfolios; important in that it witnessed the culmination of an idea long and tenderly cherished by its



THE OLD STATE DEPARTMENT BUILDING IN WASHINGTON, AS IT WAS IN 1865.
(Occupied by Secretary Seward during the war.)

author, for by that night's work a vast sovereignty was passing from one great nation to another; not by force of arms, by conquest, by seizure, or by unlawful appropriation, but by peaceful and fraternal negotiation—a momentous proceeding in which by solemn treaty two great nations won each a victory and neither suffered defeat. It was a beautiful scene, that midnight gathering at the temporary State Department on Fourteenth Street, and the writer makes no apology for transcribing here the story as it has been told by one who was a part of it in the biography of his father, the great Secretary, and who is the only one now living who was present in behalf of the United States on that memorable occasion.

On Friday evening, March 29, Seward was playing whist in his parlor with some of his family, when the Russian minister was announced.

"I have a dispatch, Mr. Seward, from my government by cable. The Emperor gives his consent to the cession. To-morrow, if you like, I will come to the Department, and we can enter upon the treaty."

Seward, with a smile of satisfaction at the news, pushed away the whist-table, saying:

"Why wait till to-morrow, Mr. Stoeckl? Let us make the treaty to-night."

"But your Department is closed. You have no clerks and my secretaries are scattered about the town."

"Never mind that," responded Seward. "If you can muster your legation together before midnight, you will find me awaiting you at the Department, which will be open and ready for business."

In less than two hours afterward light was streaming out of the windows of the Department of State, and apparently business was going on there as at midday. By 4 o'clock on Saturday morning the treaty was engrossed, signed, sealed, and ready for transmission by the President to the Senate. There was need of this haste, in order to have it acted upon before the end of the session, now near at hand.

Leutze, the artist, subsequently painted an historical picture representing the scene at the Department. It gives with fidelity the lighted room, its furniture and appointments. Seward, sitting by his writing-table, pen in hand, is listening to the Russian minister, whose extended hand is just over the great globe at the Secretary's elbow. The gaslight streaming down on the globe illuminates the outline of the Russian province. The chief clerk, Mr. Chew, is coming in with the engrossed copy of the treaty for signature. In the background stand Mr. Hunter and Mr. Bodisco, comparing the French and English versions, while Mr. Sumner and the Assistant Secretary are sitting in conference.

To the Assistant Secretary had been assigned, as his share of the night's work, the duty of finding Mr. Sumner, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to inform him of the negotiations in progress and request his advocacy of the treaty in the Senate.

On the following morning, while the Senate was about considering its favorite theme of administrative delinquencies, the sergeant-at-arms announced, "A message from the President of the United States." Glances were significantly exchanged between Senators, with the muttered remark, "Another veto!" Great was the surprise in the chamber when the Secretary ejaculated, rather than read, "A treaty for the cession of Russian America."

Nor was the surprise lessened when the chairman of Foreign Relations, a leading opponent of the President, rose to move favorable action. His remarks showed easy familiarity with the subject and that he was prepared to give reasons for the speedy approval of the treaty by the Senate.

In the cloak-room, after adjournment, the matter was talked over. Said one Senator, "I thought we were going to have another hack at Andy Johnson to-day, but it looks now as if we were going to vote for the biggest and most-unheard-of thing the administration has done yet."



BAY AND TOWN OF ST. THOMAS.

(Showing also outlying islands which serve to protect the entrance to the bay.)

III.—MR. SEWARD'S VISIT TO THE DANISH WEST INDIES.

Neither Mr. Seward nor his son Frederick was in robust health when cold weather commenced in December, 1865. The physicians advised a temporary change of climate. The assassin had failed to take the life of Mr. Seward or his son, but one for whom either one of them would have deemed it a privilege to lay down his own life, the faithful, loving wife and mother, who at the time of the accident to Mr. Seward—April 5—was at her home in Auburn, but who immediately



STREET SCENE IN ST. CROIX, DANISH WEST INDIES.

hastened to Washington and was in the house at the time of the murderous attack on her loved ones, had been unable to withstand the shock, and died in the Washington home while her son was still in imminent peril, June 21, 1865. A second victim, the only daughter, followed the mother a little more than a year later. At this time, however—December, 1865—the daughter was at the Auburn home. The Secretary intended that she should go with him on his West India cruise, but for some reason that part of his plan was abandoned.

The Secretary of the Navy placed the *De Soto*, a steamer belonging then to the Gulf squadron, at the service of the Secretary of State, and on the night of December 30, 1865, his party, consisting of himself, his son Frederick, Mrs. Frederick W. Seward, her sister, and two servants, embarked and went out to sea with the tide the next morning. It evidently goes without saying that there was something more than rest, recreation, and desire to escape the inclemency of the mild Washington winter that prompted the Secretary of State to turn the prow of the *De Soto* toward the Virgin Islands when they cleared the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay on the evening of January 1, 1866.

The *De Soto* steamed across the Gulf Stream well east of the Bahamas and direct to Puerto Rico, the first land sighted after leaving the shores of the United States. On January 9 it anchored in the harbor of St. Thomas. The scenes that met Mr. Seward and his party here were strange and interesting, it being their first visit to any of the West India Islands. They

remained at St. Thomas three days, during which time Mr. Seward received and returned official visits and was honored in many ways. On January 10 he dined with the Danish governor of the island and was received with a salute of fifteen guns from the Danish forts as he was met by the governor's carriage on landing from the *De Soto*. Among other interesting incidents of Mr. Seward's stay at St. Thomas was a visit paid by him to General Santa Anna, twice president and twice dictator of Mexico, but then an exile from his country, where Napoleon III. had, under the Austrian Prince Ferdinand Maximilian, set up an empire which at this time was being upheld in a precarious condition by French bayonets. The student of history wonders sometimes, as he reads the story of the interchange of courtesies be-

tween the stalwart veteran soldier and ex-president of the Mexican republic and the Secretary of State of the United States, if it ever occurred to the stern old warrior, then nearly seventy years old, that in the maimed and disfigured statesman before him, barely half his size, slumbered then the latent power that, greater than Mexican military maneuvers, would soon remove the support of French bayonets from an *effete* Mexican empire, and leave it to topple over into the merciless embrace of an organized Mexican republic.

It was unnecessary for Mr. Seward to visit St. Thomas to become convinced that its commodious port, located at a point that has been most aptly and accurately described as "a place which is on the way to every other place in the West Indies," must be a very valuable acquisition to the United States, especially in the event of hostilities with any other power. And yet seeing with one's own eyes is much more convincing than listening to the most eloquent discourse or reading the most accurate description. The perplexities and the annoyances experienced by the Government of the United States in its then very recent struggle for national existence, when its statesmen would have given millions of money for convenient outside seaports over which they could have had exclusive control, were too fresh in the memory of the Secretary of State not to prompt him, with the foresight of the true statesman, early to cast about in quest of such naval accommodations as the Government could conveniently secure. It was a bitter memory—it had been gall and wormwood to the high-spirited

and chivalrous statesman as he sat in his inner office in the old State Department and read reports that came from diplomatic and consular offices scattered over the world and realized the embarrassments and vexations experienced by them in their struggles to guard national interests under alien skies. A convenient seaport at some point not too remote from the Atlantic seaboard that should be wholly under the control of the American Government had been an absolute necessity during the struggle just closed, and Mr. Seward determined that the want of such a port should not embarrass any future administration if in his power to prevent it. He ran his eye over the map of the western hemisphere and took note of the multitude of islands in the seas that wash the long lines of coast of the United States. He found them well-nigh innumerable. The Bermudas, the Bahamas, the Antilles, the Hawaiian, the Aleutian—all the property of other nations, and at that time the Government of the United States held no absolute right even to cast anchor in the smallest port of any one of them. What a boon it would have been to have had just one port for the shelter of American ships from 1861 to 1865 at some convenient point off the Atlantic coast, in either the Bermuda or Bahama group, is fairly illustrated by the possession of the keys off the southern coast of Florida at the present time. Under such conditions there ought not to be any difficulty in understanding the anxiety and solicitude of the Government in the matter of acquiring title to one or more suitable seaports within easy access of the Atlantic and Pacific seabords.

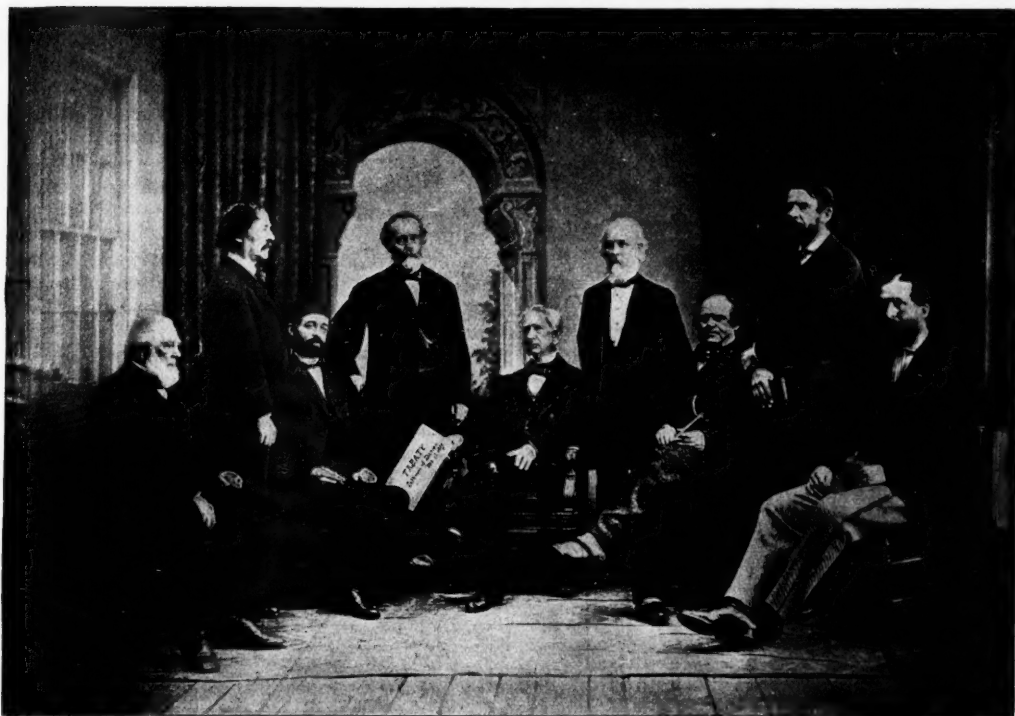
The advantages of St. Thomas as a central, salutary, and convenient port for the United States have always been recognized by those who have had any knowledge of the matter. The island is about $18\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north of the equator and 36 miles east of Puerto Rico. It is second in size of the Danish Virgin Islands, St. Croix containing more than double its square miles. The Virgin group of islands was discovered by Columbus on his second voyage in 1493, and were christened by him in memory of St. Ursula and her 11,000 companions whose bones are claimed still to be preserved at Cologne. Whether Columbus concluded as he felt his way among what may well have appeared to him to be an innumerable cluster of islets, scattered over a space of about two degrees of latitude and longitude, that there was an island apiece for each of the virgin followers of Ursula, is uncertain, but wiser men than Columbus have demonstrated the fact that in this work of distribution there are only islands enough to provide one each for about 100 of the virgins. Scarcely more than a dozen

of the islands are now inhabited. The total area is estimated at 465 square miles and the total population a few years ago was 67,000. The westerly islands belong to Spain, the easterly to Great Britain, and the central to Denmark. The area of the Spanish islands is about 150 square miles, that of the British about 57 square miles, and that of the Danish 240 square miles—a probable over-estimate. The populations of these divisions according to the latest obtainable information are respectively approximately 2,600, 5,500, and 34,000. The area of the three principal Danish islands is as follows: St. Croix, 80 square miles; St. Thomas, 33 square miles; St. John, 21 square miles. St. Thomas has only one town, bearing the name of Charlotte Amelie, but more often called by the name of the island, St. Thomas, and it is located on its magnificent harbor, which is about the middle of the south coast and is nearly land-locked. The island is 13 miles long and has an average width of about 3 miles. The harbor, so well sheltered and so advantageously situated in the way of ocean travel, is undoubtedly one of the best and most commodious in all the West Indies. It is capable of floating the largest vessels and possesses adequate anchorage for the entire navy of the United States and its mercantile marine.

Mr. Seward and party returned to the Potomac by way of San Domingo, Port au Prince, and Havana, arriving at the Washington home January 28, 1866. The presence of the Secretary and his assistant at their desks in the old State Department on the following morning, January 29, was greeted with pleasure by all who knew them, and the benefit resulting to them in their month's cruise was manifest. A snow-storm during the day—just a little Washington snow-storm—was quite enough to remind them that they were out of the tropics, a long way from the balmy breezes of St. Thomas, and again in the midst of exacting duties.

IV.—THE DANISH TREATY AND ITS DEFEAT IN THE SENATE.

The attention of the Department of State on Mr. Seward's return to it was first given to the matters of the Franco-Mexican difficulty and to the *Alabama* claims, but very soon thereafter, in a delicate and diplomatic manner, the Secretary of State introduced the subject of the sale and purchase of a Danish West Indian seaport to Mr. Raasloff, the Danish minister then residing at Washington. The suggestion was too novel to meet with immediate favor. To part with the sovereignty of a portion of its territory by a European nation was not by any means an unheard-of transaction, but it was a proceeding so



SECRETARY SEWARD, ASSISTANT SECRETARY F. W. SEWARD, AND THE CHIEFS OF BUREAUS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

unusual and so extraordinary that the suggestion could not be entertained at once. While there was still much uncertainty as to whether Denmark would be willing to part with any portion of its West India possessions, intimations came from the government of San Domingo that the desired naval depot might be secured by the purchase of the bay and peninsula of Samana, a most commodious harbor on the north coast of San Domingo. A visit made by Admiral Porter and Mr. Frederick W. Seward in the naval steamer *Gettysburg* to San Domingo, the Assistant Secretary being clothed with power to conclude a treaty for the cession of bay and peninsula if found satisfactory, did not result in the conclusion of any treaty. Not very long after this event the treaty for the cession of Russian America was negotiated and ratified by the Senate.

So far from being at all anxious to part with any portion of its West India possessions—or having hung upon them a sign “For Sale”—the Danish Government and people were very slow to entertain any proposition for a transfer of one of its ports to the American Government. Just what influence the action of the Russian Government in the sale of Alaska may have had

in bringing the Danish administration to entertain the suggestion of such a transfer it would be difficult to determine. It was only a little before this suggestion, made by Mr. Seward to Colonel Raasloff, that Denmark sustained a crushing blow at the hands of the Austrians and Prussians in the loss of the duchies of Lanenburg, Holstein, and Slesvig. It was a terrible calamity to this proud little monarchy, and the memory of it is not likely to be wiped out for many generations. The writer could but sympathize with the grieved hearts of two Danish gentlemen whom he accompanied through a German museum at Berlin in June, 1897, where are preserved many cannon, battle-flags, and other trophies of war captured by the Prussians from the Danes on more than one hard-fought field in the struggle of brave little Denmark against the combined forces of the two powerful opposing allies. Tears came unbidden to the eyes of these chivalrous descendants of the sea-kings of the north, and words were quite unnecessary to convey an expression of the hope that time will one day provide an opportunity to square accounts with the powers that laid waste their beautiful land and stripped it of its most valuable provinces.

During the civil war in the United States Denmark had shown its friendship for the great republic in many ways. In its ports American vessels found a welcome and a safe anchorage. It never lost an opportunity to perform a kind office for the Government and people of the country where so many of its brave sons and daughters had come to build themselves new homes. These facts, however, were not sufficient to prompt the Danish administration at once to take kindly to the suggestion to relinquish, for money or other consideration, its possessions in the New



CHRISTIAN IX., KING OF DENMARK.

World. Of all the European nations having holdings in the West Indies where African slavery previously existed, Denmark alone had successfully solved the problem of emancipation. Its subjects on the islands of the Virgin group were prosperous, contented, and happy; they sought no change, although if change were decreed, as subsequently shown, they would not be averse to see the Stars and Stripes float over the islands. Prompted, however, with a sincere purpose to render another kind office to the people of the United States, the Danish crown finally consented to entertain a proposition to sell a part of the West India possessions, very firmly refusing to dispose of more than two islands and retaining to itself the largest and most productive of the group.

The writer would emphasize this fact, that this action on the part of the Danish Government in finally consenting to cede, for a small money consideration, a part of its American possessions to the nation that ought, by virtue of location and for national defense, to own the entire range of islands that command entrance to American ports, was prompted not by a desire to relinquish its possessions in this hemisphere or for the trifle stipulated for their purchase, but, like the greater and more powerful nation so closely united with Denmark and which had but a few months before ceded "the outposts of St. Petersburg" to the great republic, by a perfectly sincere purpose to

perform a graceful act and extend a courtesy to the one nation in all the world with which it had always been on most friendly terms, and between whom and it there had never arisen cause for the slightest international controversy. Intimate personal acquaintance and association with the people of Denmark have made the writer more or less familiar with their modes of thought and the depth and tenderness of their emotions. Loyalty to king and country is a cardinal virtue. Gratitude and love of justice and fair play are qualities that come into their lives with the fresh breezes that sweep across their island homes. The King and members of the royal family are part of the people, and may frequently be seen on the streets

of Copenhagen mingling with the hurrying populace, lifting hats to the humblest subjects and recognizing courtesies from an intensely loyal people.

Denmark had the sympathy of the people of America in its disastrous struggle with the allied powers in 1864, and with her own sympathy still strong for a



FREDERICK W. SEWARD.

(After the attempted assassination.)

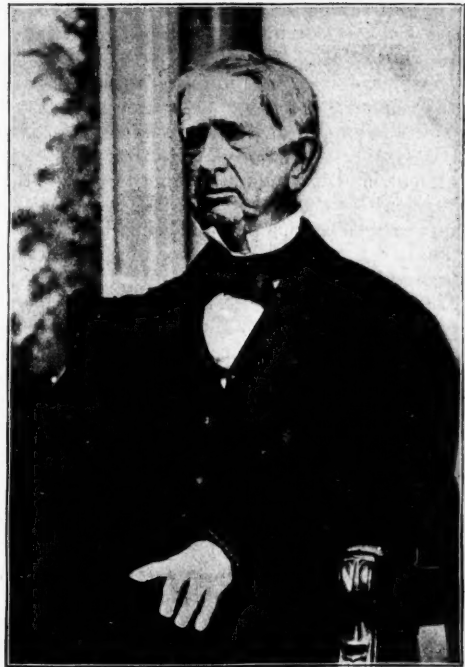
people who had suppressed a gigantic insurrection in the face of ridicule and open disfavor of an almost united Europe, it need not be wondered at that the little monarchy eventually consented to enter into a treaty for the transfer of the two small islands of St. Thomas and St. John to the sovereignty of the United States. Still, so concerned was it in the happiness and well-being of its subjects on the islands referred to that the transfer was only agreed to on condition that their inhabitants should freely and formally consent thereto by ballot duly taken. The vote was had on January 9, 1868, and resulted in almost a unanimous declaration in favor of the transfer of allegiance, there being but 22 votes in the negative on the island of St. Thomas and not a dissenting vote on the island of St. John.

The failure of the United States Senate to give its advice and consent to the ratification of the treaty solemnly entered into between the execu-

tives of the governments of Denmark and the United States marks one of the saddest pages in the entire record of American diplomacy. The story of that transaction, though told for a thousand years to come, will never fail to bring the blush of shame and remorse to the cheek of any true American. Denmark did not come pounding at the gates of the American nation and offer for sale two beautiful Virgin islands. It was the American nation that sought out the owner of the little group and then offered \$5,000,000 for the three. It was the American nation that sent the *De Soto*, with its great Secretary of State, to view the land, and afterward sent the same little war vessel from St. Thomas to Washington to bear the special commissioner of Denmark, Gov. Edward Carstensen, to the American capital, where he could gain authentic advices as to the probability of the treaty's ratification before submitting the matter to a vote of the inhabitants of the islands. And it was the American Senate that finally ignored the whole proceeding, never taking any action whatever on the treaty submitted to it, and thereby offering a gratuitous, a wicked, and an unwarranted insult to a friendly nation. The purchase price agreed upon was \$7,500,000. It is true the debt of the nation was then large; but it was not pressing. The revenue also was large, and the price stipulated was a bagatelle. It is not true that the reason Mr. Seward was not supported by Congress was because of the then existing national debt. Such an excuse was never given. As a fact the course of the Senate was dictated by a policy accurately if not elegantly described in the editorial quoted as a "dog-in-the-manger policy." It was indeed most dangerous and unjust in the highest degree.

Not until the curtain shall rise upon yet another generation will the careful and painstaking historian put together the scattered facts that bear upon the diplomatic incident that culminated in the treaty referred to and in its unnatural death by strangulation in the room of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Then indeed the world will learn, and the flush of shame will mantle more than one brow to know, that in the superheated political conditions attendant upon the presentation of the Danish treaty the strongest argument against its consideration—and the only reason that actuated more than one member of that august Senate—was the fact that the President under whom it was negotiated and by whom it was submitted to the Senate was Andrew Johnson. So unreasoning and so unreasonable are wise men sometimes when Passion guides and Prejudice sits the saddle!

Charles Sumner, one of the greatest intellects that ever made an argument in the United States



"THE MAIMED AND DISFIGURED STATESMAN."
(After the attempted assassination.)

Senate, was chairman of its Committee on Foreign Relations at the time this matter was pending. It is fair to say that while he was a pronounced partisan and a bitter opponent of the President, he was a warm friend of Mr. Seward and had previously been in perfect accord with him in his foreign policy. This is well illustrated by his cordial support of the Russian treaty. The same arguments made by Mr. Sumner in support of the treaty to annex Alaska were equally applicable in support of the treaty to raise the flag over the West India Islands. Indeed, as a military or naval necessity in the event of hostilities, the reasons for annexing St. Thomas were then at least four-fold greater than were those for adding Alaska to the territory of the United States. He was never heard to say a word against the Danish treaty, and even in the presence of the Danish commissioner, whose mission to this country was known to be for the purpose of learning what, if any, hostility existed against the treaty, he raised his voice only in its support. Subsequently, when General de Raasloff, the former minister to the United States and then a member of the Danish cabinet, came especially, but in an unofficial way, to urge favorable action on the treaty as a matter of justice to the Danish Government, it having entered into the treaty stipulations at

the urgent solicitation of the United States, the entire Senate Committee on Foreign Relations were silent, Mr. Sumner with the rest. The matter continued to rest undisturbed in the hands of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations until the incoming of the administration of Gen. U. S. Grant. Andrew Johnson was no longer President, and it would seem that there was then no reason for further delay, the time for exchanging ratifications having been twice extended—the last time at the instance of Mr. Seward's successor in the State Department.

These gentlemen—"all honorable men"—forgot that it was Abraham Lincoln who first opened negotiations for the purchase of St. Thomas; forgot that Denmark had been the friend of the United States during its great struggle for national existence; forgot that in case of another war absolute military necessity would compel the Government to seek just such a station, and that it would be forced to have it even if it had to fight to get it; forgot that the most sanguinary pages of history had been colored the crimson tint by the blood of brave men spilled to win—as they were forced to win—just such strategic posts that have been military and naval necessities since the world and warfare began.

V.—CONCLUSION AND MORAL.

Early in the Presidential career of Abraham Lincoln he sought full information on the subject of securing a suitable naval station among the islands off the Atlantic seaboard. With Secretary Seward he requested the opinion of Admiral Porter as to the strategic importance of different stations among the West India groups. The admiral promptly made a report to the President. Among other things in this report he said:

St. Thomas lies right in the track of all vessels from Europe, Brazil, the East Indies, and the Pacific Ocean, bound to the West India Islands or to the United States. It is the point where all vessels touch for supplies when needed coming from any of the above stations. It is a central point from which any or all of the West India Islands can be assailed, while it is impervious to attack from landing parties and can be fortified to any extent. The bay on which lies the town of St. Thomas is almost circular, the entrance being by a neck guarded by two heavy forts, which can be so strengthened and protected that no foreign power can ever hope to take it. St. Thomas is a small Gibraltar by itself and could not be attacked by a naval force. There would be no possibility of landing troops there, as the island is surrounded by reefs and breakers, and every point near which a vessel or boat could approach is a natural fortification, and only requires guns with little labor expended on fortified works. There is no harbor in the West Indies better fitted than St. Thomas for a naval station. Its harbor and that of St. John, and the harbor formed by the Water Island, would contain all the vessels of the largest navy in the world,

where they would be protected at all times from bad weather and be secure against an enemy. In fine, St. Thomas is the keystone to the arch of the West Indies. It commands them all. It is of more importance to us than to any other nation.

During the pendency of the St. Thomas treaty in the Senate—or with the Committee on Foreign Relations, the treaty having never left the committee-room after reaching it—ex-Assistant Secretary of the Navy Fox wrote to Mr. Sumner as follows—words that will bear repeating though thirty years have flitted by since they were written:

The experience of centuries has demonstrated that defensible depot-stations in waters where a fleet is intended to act are invaluable for the protection they afford to commerce, the efficiency they give to naval power, and the economy they produce in repairing and supplying such force. History is full of the struggles of nations for the control of such positions; Rhodes, Malta, Minorca, Gibraltar, Louisburg, Havana, and Carthage readily occur to the memory. Their loss was followed by diminished naval power, their gain by large influence. . . .

The reasons which made it wise and patriotic for Mr. Lincoln to open negotiations to this end have lost none of their force now. New grounds for favoring the object come constantly into notice, and our country can hardly fulfill the great destinies expected of her unless she secures, when the opportunity is presented, a position which by strategic art will serve as an outwork to the coast of our Union and give additional efficiency to the means of defending our commerce and our Atlantic and Pacific communications.

It is very true, as stated in the foregoing editorial, that "the convention at St. Louis took the right view of the matter and the purchase of the islands should be undertaken." It is also equally true that the administration cannot be too diligent in its attempt to carry into effect, in good faith, this plank of the platform of the party that carried it to victory in 1896. Whether the treaty-making power of the United States has not lost much of its prestige for honorable and fair dealings, especially in the eyes of the Danish Government and people, may be a question of some importance, but recent events are sufficient to prompt the administration to look to its "outposts all along the coast," for not even a wise and dignified Senator to-day can tell what waits upon the coming of the morrow. By all means "pay a reasonable sum and raise the American flag," but first make the *amende honorable* and demonstrate the fact that the American nation, while too great and too grand a nation to suffer insult or injury without resentment, is also too great and too grand a nation to visit unmerited injury or insult upon another. Let the flag be raised, but as its folds unfurl let it be clean and unspotted, that the whole world may know that it is the flag of honor as well as the "flag of the free."

KUROPÂTKIN: WAR LORD OF RUSSIA.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

(Bengal Civil Service, retired.)



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL KUROPÂTKIN.

GEN. ALEXEI NICOLAIEVITCH KUROPÂTKIN, who was appointed acting minister of war on New Year's Day, is the greatest "fighting general" in the Russian army. He has won every distinction "for valor" in the field that the imperial crown holds in its gift; he has "swords of honor" enough to arm a company; he has seen active service in three continents—Africa, Europe, Asia—from Mount Atlas to Chinese Tartary; he was one of the decisive factors in the last great decisive battle fought on European soil.

Further, General Kuropâtkin is the best writer of military history in Russia, the master of those who know in the science of war. His story of the Balkan crusade is a classic; his works on Algiers and Kashgar have been crowned by the Imperial Geographical Society; his essays are the final authority on every point of strategy; his lectures make military statistics as interesting as romance, and well they may, for on this warp is the web of all poetry woven. Finally, General Kuropâtkin is a tried and tested administrator, of singular creative and constructive genius. He

can toil terribly, mastering a multitude of details and piercing to the principle beneath them; adapting means to ends with the unerring insight of intuition; he has won the wildest and corruptest region of the world from robbery and plunder to ways of peace, turning murdering hordes into mild cotton-growers and bringing wealth to a dead wilderness of sand; he has carried diplomatic success to the heart of the Gobi desert; he has won the enthusiastic worship of his soldiers, the devotion of his officers, the warm regard of his civilian helpers.

In his forty-ninth year, in the very prime of vigor and power, he is lord of the greatest army in the world—5,000,000 men in time of war. No finer augury could have been imagined for Russia's hopes in the new year and the new century than the destiny which calls this wisest warrior to lead the armies of the Czar.

General Kuropàtkin's life is rich in dramatic coloring. No one has had more magnificent stage scenery: the northern lights over the frozen Neva River; the "Arabian Nights" country of Tashkent and Samarcand; Paris of the *Débâcle*; a moonlit oasis in the Sahara; the Tartar cities under the roof of the world; the blue Danube, Plevna, the Balkans; the brigand-ridden Turcoman steppes; the shores of the Caspian; the ruins of Merv; then again the wintry Neva, the war ministry, the Russian army. And, on the average, three decorations for every change of scene.

What will be the setting of the coming acts? Constantinople? Calcutta? China? These things lie on the knees of the gods.

I.—BIRTH AND EDUCATION: 1848–66.

Like the minister of finance, the new war lord is an example of the extreme democracy of Russian rule. Sergei Iulitch Vitté began his career as master of a wayside railroad station; Alexei Nicolaievitch Kuropàtkin as sub-lieutenant in a Turkestan regiment when Asian service was esteemed mere exile. They won their way to the highest places in the realm by sheer character and power. Both are of old noble families. The minister of finance can trace his line back through the Princes Dolgorùki to the old Czars of Moscow. The minister of war is a hereditary noble of Pskoff, whose tradition of aristocracy stretches back through mediæval Hansa days to mere heathendom, when Thor and Woden ruled the world. In the midst of its peat-bogs and pine forests, Pskoff boasts its buttressed walls and towered citadel more venerable far than Moscow's Kremlin. Its stones were old ere the first log of Moscow was laid.

General Kuropàtkin's father, retiring from

military service about the year the serfs were liberated, lived on his Pskoff estate and played a leading part in the local government of the province. As president of the Agricultural Committee, his skill and knowledge of flax may well have influenced his son a generation later among the cotton-fields of Merv. General Kuropàtkin's mother still lives on the Pskoff estate, managing her farms and cultivating her gardens.

Alexei Nicolaievitch Kuropàtkin was entered at the Cadet Corps School and later at the Pavlovskoe Military College in St. Petersburg; one of those huge buildings in raw red stucco, gaunt and unlovely, which the twilight capital so much affects. He read there, among other things, how Count Muràvieff of the Amoor had just added to the Russian empire a territory as big as France, won from China, on the Pacific coast over against Japan. He did not read of the conquest of Turkestan; he himself was to help in making that piece of Russian history. An atmosphere of keen modernity reigns over the Pavlovskoe class-rooms: mathematics, the sciences, living languages only; military history from stone-hatchet days; and as much of the art of war as a sub-lieutenant's head can hold. Hard work all week; mild Sunday merry-makings; periodical examinations; military discipline over all.

II.—THE LAND OF THE "ARABIAN NIGHTS:" 1866–68.

When Alexei Kuropàtkin was passing his last terms at Pavlovskoe College the shadow of the Russian power was rising over the sands of Turkestan. "We have come hither not for a day, nor yet for a year, but forever," were the prophetic words of one of her generals.

The vast wonderland of Islam had slowly been growing common and familiar. The veil of the unknown had been torn from Asiatic Turkey,



TWO NATIVES OF TURKESTAN



MOSCOW—THE KREMLIN.

Persia, Afghanistan. The Siberian steppes on the north had long been Russian soil. There remained only Turkestan, still drowsing in the blue haze of mystery and romance. The evening voice of the muezzin calling in cadence on Allah; mosque and medresi still murmuring the prayers of the Prophet and dreaming of Islam's alchemy and star-lore; the roses of Khorassan and the wine-cups of Shiraz; tinsel slippers and veiled faces behind latticed windows. This was the blue mist in the sunlight, but beneath the mist corruption, profligacy, crime; the wild cruelty of weakness; the fanatic hatreds of dead faith.

In June, 1864, the Russian advance began, when General Chernâieff, taking Aulia Ata and Turkestan City, drew a line of forts across the northern frontier. In October he stormed Chemkent, and the wonderland of Islam trembled. Chernâieff hastened southward, bringing his batteries into line before Tashkent on October 25. A partial breach, a premature assault; the Russians, greatly outnumbered, were forced to retire.

The spring of 1865 saw Chernâieff again before Tashkent, making a reconnoissance of the suburbs beyond the city wall and occupying the ford of the Sir Darya to cut off Bokharan aid. A final assault on June 27, and Tashkent fell before the Russian general, whose 2,000 men had defeated a force of 30,000 five times stronger in artillery. That same evening Chernâieff rode through the conquered city with a few Cossacks only; he visited the native baths and drank tea with the Czar's new subjects. The nation of cut-throats and poisoners were delighted with his audacity; they still remember him as Shir Naib, the Lion Viceroy.

In 1866 Alexei Kuropâtkin got his commission as sub-lieutenant in the Turkestan rifles, attracted thither by the voice of war. He may well have dreamed of that land of wonders. Visions of the Golden Age, when this was Eden; Zoroaster and the holy fire; then Alexander of Macedon; then high-cheeked Buddhist Mongols; Nestorian Christians; Arabs triumphing for Islam; then Genghis Khan in his ruthless savagery; and at last Tamerlane, a warrior equal to Alexander, ruthless as Genghis Khan, fanatical as the Arabs, as great a builder as the Buddhists. His enameled mosques, with their arabesques; mosaic floors of ebony and ivory; the Turquoise Gate; the Summer Palace, resplendent in gold and blue against the morning; the Garden of Paradise, of clear white Tabriz marble, frescoes, inlaid floors, furniture of silver; Indian spices and muslins, China silks, and musk, and precious stones, rich furs from Siberia—all the wealth and color of the "Arabian Nights" multiplied ten times by lame Timur's genius. Then, after Timur, centuries of degradation and seething rotteness, and over all the iridescence of decay, the last glamor of Islam, holding the hearts of the faithful from the Ganges to Morocco, from Kazan to Zanzibar. Far more than Mecca or Stamboul Bokhara was the heart of the Moslem world.

But Alexei Kuropâtkin had not come there to dream. A decisive battle had just been fought against the Bokharan Emir, 40,000 giving way before 4,000 Russians. The Emir's tent, in its sunset splendor, and a park of artillery fell into the conqueror's hands. Then seven days' fierce storming of Khodjent, with a final assault at the

point of the bayonet. Then Ora Tépé fell. Then a year of skirmishing against Bokharans, Turcomans, Afghans, but no decisive battle.

On May 13, 1868, the order was at last given to march on Timur's capital, Samarcand, where the supreme Turkish genius sleeps in a lovely mausoleum beneath the apricots. An oasis of the Zerafsan River; 8,000 Russians fighting their way across against 50,000; storming the high bank till the Bokharans break and fly, the gates of their city shut against them. Then, on May 14, the Russian flag over the city which once gave its submission to Grecian Alexander.

The Czar's troops still pressed southward, with their terrible bayonet courage. A panic in the Bokharan host; the ways strewn with abandoned weapons. Then treachery in Samarcand, 700 Russians holding the city six days against 20,000 and finally beating them. Then a treaty with the Emir, leaving Bokhara politically free, but morally bowed before the dominant Russian genius.

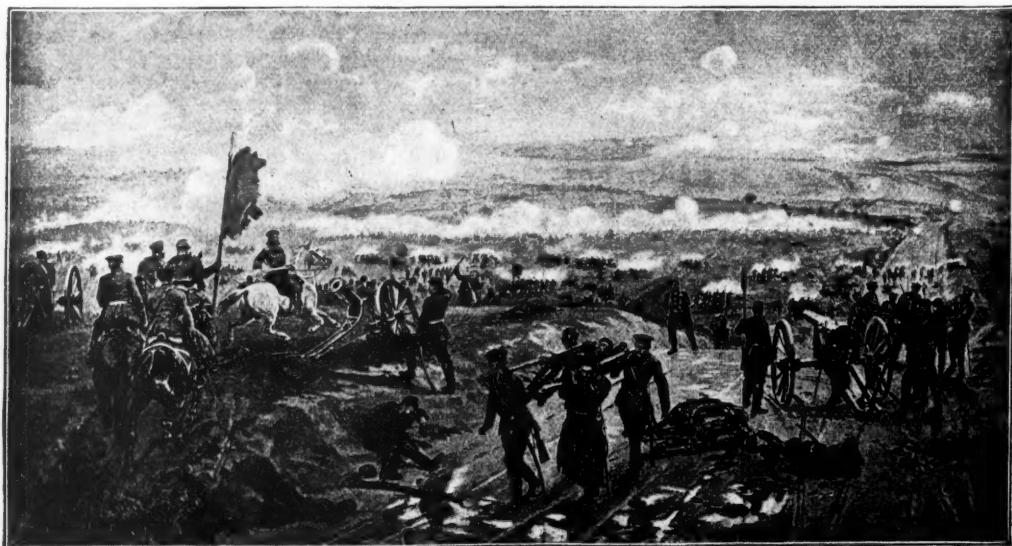
If Alexei Kuropátkin spent these two years in dreaming, the crosses of St. Stanislav and St. Anne, with the ribbons and swords of honor, "for distinguished valor," sufficiently record the spirit of his dream.

III.—THE NEVA, THE SEINE, THE SAHARA: 1868-74.

With the rank of lieutenant, Kuropátkin returned to St. Petersburg to continue his studies

in the science of war in the Academy of the General Staff. In those days the curled darlings of this most favored home of learning were nicknamed "pheasants" by the plain-plumed students of the other schools. They had favors at court balls, special opportunities for flirtation, and floods of social sunshine in that most distinguished metropolis. After the Turkish war they were called the "moments," because they so often sought and missed the psychological moment in a battle.

If Lieutenant Kuropátkin wore fine feathers, he worked hard. He completed his studies in 1874, coming out triumphant at the head of his year. The best student is annually rewarded. Lieutenant Kuropátkin received a special allowance to continue his studies abroad. After a brief visit to Berlin he hurried on to Paris. All France was hot with the fury of Sedan, the four months' siege, the commune, the ransom raised by the Jews. M. Thiers, wearied with the waywardness of the citizens, had retired to his back garden to study the orderly works of the Creator. In that famous Cashmere dressing-gown, gesticulating with his spy-glass, he talked of all things to all men. He and France with him were thinking well of the Russians, who had saved the honor of Belfort, the one stronghold the Uhlans had never taken. M. Thiers had put off presidential honors, and Marshal MacMahon reigned in his stead. His Irish half was urging him to rebuild the army; his French half had led him



THE STORMING OF THE GREEN HILLS, SEPTEMBER 7, 1877.

From the painting by Demietriev Orenburgski.

into the shows of mock royalty and impossible political designs. Lieutenant Kuropätkin was introduced to his Irish half, and the marshal-president proposed that the brilliant young Russian officer should have a share in reorganizing the cavalry of France. Lieutenant Kuropätkin displayed so much knowledge, skill, and sagacity that General Galliffet, who was chief of the cavalry department at Paris, considered it his duty to inform Marshal MacMahon that the most brilliant results of the work had been gained by the young Russian officer's advice. Shortly after this Kuropätkin was invited to take part in the maneuvers around Metz, where he showed such remarkable strategic ability that the French authorities enthusiastically made him *Officier de la Légion d'Honneur*. Alexei Kuropätkin was thus the first Russian officer to receive this decoration for distinguished military services.

From Metz the scene suddenly changes to Algiers, sacred to Tartarin and the Atlas lions. Kuropätkin had better luck than the Tarascon hero. For eleven months he rode through the length and breadth of the land with a column under General Laverdeau, in the expedition of the Great Sahara, through the oasis of Mزاب to Wargla. A stage setting of desert sands, date palms, Kabyle encampments, striped tents, hooded nomads, camels, Jews in garments of the Captivity; a general effect of the meeting of Jacob and Esau, with some of the Egyptian plaques added for local colors. To put it poetically, insects floating in the sunshine; others felt, though hidden from the sunlight. Let us trust that Lieutenant Kuropätkin shared a certain immunity bestowed on Tom Sawyer. Like that hero, Kuropätkin recorded his seeings and doings in a book—a history of Algiers from the time of the French conquest; the face of the country, with its caravan routes, trade centers, commerce, manufactures; the native population; the condition of the interior; the army, administration, and judiciary. Add a special description of the Wargla oasis, presented to Governor-General Chansy, and in recognition of this yet another degree of the Legion of Honor.

IV.—IN THE COUNTRY OF KUBLAI KHAN: 1875-76.

Meanwhile the genius of General Kauffmann had been "turning the Oxus into a Russian river." In 1871 he had overrun the Ili valley; in 1873 he had conquered the Khan of Khiva, leaving him nominally independent, but morally subdued. From Algiers Kuropätkin returned to the Norway winters and Persian summers of Turkestan. There was a question of conquering Kokand. The Emir had plundered his subjects to the re-

volting point and then had fled to Russian territory. His son took up arms against Russia, but was beaten at Telian and driven back to Kokand. He ceded the right bank of the Sir Darya River as far as Naryn to the Czar. But the trouble still went on, and Russia fought and won at Andijan. On January 26, 1876, a true Oriental intrigue brought the Czar's army back again.



THE CZAR ALEXANDER II.
"The Divine Figure from the North."
From the painting by K. E. Makovski.

On March 3 the end came, with the annexation of Kokand to the general government of Turkestan as the new province of Ferghana. Kuropätkin came out of this campaign with a rather severe wound, the crosses of St. George and St. Vladimir of the fourth class, and the rank of captain. He had been chief of the staff to Skobelev, who was made governor of the new territory. We shall hear of these two together again at Plevna.

Ferghana lies to the north of the mountain mass of the Pamirs. East of the Pamirs is Chinese Tartary. Somewhere at the corner Ferghana and Tartary met; no one knew exactly where; this was now to be decided. At this time Chinese Tartary was the hunting-ground of Yakub Bek of Kashgar, a man with something of Genghis Khan and Timur in him. Kuropätkin was sent over the border into the wilds to find Yakub Bek and settle the frontier. Just round the corner of the Pamirs, near Osh in the Tian Shan Mountains, his escort was set on by a swarm

of Kara-Kirghiz nomads, the very material of conquering Tartar hordes. Capt. Alexei Kuro-pátkin and his brother, a captain of artillery, held out by dint of hard fighting until some troops from Osh relieved them. Alexei Kuro-pátkin continued his journey through the wilds with a wounded arm and a stronger escort. He was among unknown deserts wilder than the Sahara. Through Aksu he came to Kurla, near Karashar—grim places among the sands of Tarim and Gobi. The stage scenery included the felt tents of Tartar encampments, reeking mutton broth, patriarchal flocks and herds, insects, and wild-eyed Yakub Khan, the presiding genius of the wastes. The expedition lasted a year, and 2,500 miles were covered on horseback. Kuro-pátkin gained some diplomatic glory and wrote a book on Kashgaria, awarded the Geographical Society's gold medal, like the volume on Algiers.

V.—THE DANUBE, PLEVNA, THE BALKANS: 1877-78.

The deeds that brought the Russian invasion of Turkey are well enough known—the cruelty and rapine of Genghis Khan, prolonged in the full day of Christian Europe. Atrocious tortures; men and women bastinadoed to death, or hung head downward, or burned alive, or starved, or impaled on stakes. In one day the Turkish Governor of Belgrade impaled 170 Servians within sight of the Austrian post of Semlin. The Austrian officer sent a violently worded remonstrance. After that the Servians were impaled on the other side of the town, out of sight of the Austrian fort. This is one day out of four centuries.

While Kuropátkin was with Skobelev at Kokand the fiends had been let loose along the Danube. Christians were insulted, mutilated, and murdered with every atrocity. Finally the Emperor Alexander II. intervened, in the name of humanity and religion. War was declared on April 24, 1877. Thus the period of lying promises and evasions was closed.

There were three great barriers between Russia and Constantinople: the Danube, the Turkish forts in Bulgaria, and the Balkan Mountains. Russia brought to the Danube 200,000 men. Turkey had 250,000, better supplied, much better armed, and with finer artillery, though less of it. On the Danube the Turks had a powerful fleet—monitors, ironclads, and torpedo-boats. The Russians had no fleet at all till after the war. So absolutely useless were the ironclads and monitors that they accounted for just *six Russian soldiers wounded* during the war; not one killed. The resistance on the Danube was almost a fiasco. The Russians were across by the end of June.

Osman Pasha had been hurrying from Servia to stop them with 60,000 veteran troops armed with Peabody-Martini. He came late and instantly decided to occupy Plevna, and so menace the line the Russians must follow from the Danube to the Balkans. About the same time General Gourko had made a brilliant rush to the south and seized the Shipka Pass in the Balkans. After two disastrous attempts to take Plevna in July the Russians finally realized the strength of Osman's position. Had they advanced to the south he would have cut their line of communication with Russia. No forward move could be made till Osman was dislodged.

Lovcha lay between Plevna and the Shipka Pass, held by 15,000 Turks. To close up on Plevna Lovcha had to be taken. Skobelev sent thither with Kuropátkin as chief of his staff. The Turks had two strongholds, the Red Hill, between Skobelev and the town, and a redoubt on the other side, a square fort of earthworks and trenches. On September 2 Skobelev held a ridge commanding the town. The same night he got a strong battery into position. Early the next morning he began a deadly artillery fire against the first Turkish position on the Red Hill. After eight hours' continuous firing he stopped his artillery, advanced with bayonets fixed, and carried the Red Hill position by fierce hand-to-hand fighting.

His cannon then fired over the town against the redoubt on the other side, Skobelev's troops meanwhile making their way through the town



RUSSIAN SOLDIERS.

to the gardens under the redoubt. After three hours the artillery had knocked the redoubt nearly to pieces. But the Turks opened a heavy infantry fire with their deadly Martinis when the Russians advanced to carry the redoubt with the bayonet. This they finally did about 7 in the evening after a terrible hand-to-hand struggle, a wild turmoil of slaughter and mutilation. The Turks were killed to a man. The bodies of the dead of both sides lay piled up six feet



THE BLACK SEA—THE HARBOR OF ODESSA.

high in the throat of the redoubt, ghastly and silent.

Meanwhile Osman had been burrowing in the earth round Plevna. He had a half circle of defenses on the southeast of the town, beginning with the Grivitza redoubt on the east and ending with the Krishin redoubt on the south. Half way between was a strong group of earthworks. Osman had 60,000 troops with Martinis and abundant ammunition, but only 80 cannon. The Russians had about 80,000, but nearly 400 cannon. But they had far too many commanders.

The third battle of Plevna was fought on September 11. The Roumanian army, led by Prince Charles and General Krüdener, was against the Grivitza redoubt, Kriloff's regiments were against the middle, and Skobelev was against the Krishin redoubt to the south, on the left flank of the Russians. The Grivitza redoubt was a square earthwork with a parapet eighteen feet thick. The Russian artillery had hammered at it for four days, but had been unable to carry it by assault against the murderous rifle fire of the Turks. By the evening of the 10th it was pretty well knocked to pieces. At the other end of the Russian line Skobelev had been fighting under the Krishin redoubt, backward and forward along the Green Hills, with their three crests lying be-

tween him and Plevna. On the evening of the 10th he had retired to the first crest.

Here is an episode to show the esteem Skobelev was already held in. He was technically under the orders of Prince Imeretinsky, his senior in standing. Late on the night of the 10th Imeretinsky received an order from the general staff dividing his forces into two independent portions and placing the first under Skobelev's command. Imeretinsky retained the second, with orders to support Skobelev, and during the battle Skobelev called on him for support so often that Imeretinsky was left without a single battalion. This was precisely what was intended. While nominally in command he was superseded by his brilliant junior.

The 11th broke with cold rain and fog. At 10 o'clock Skobelev began to work forward toward the crest of the third hill. He had no earthworks there to protect him, and when the fog lifted he was terribly exposed. He sought and received permission to advance about 3 o'clock. The air was full of the thunder of 300 cannon.

The Turks held a rifle-pit under the third hill. Skobelev advanced, with bands playing, to the assault, and cleared the Turks out with the bayonet. He was exposed to a terrible fire from front, right, and left from the Turkish trenches and redoubts, while he was in the open. This was the decisive movement of the battle, and Skobelev was equal to the ordeal. The very van of his troops, under the most deadly fire, suddenly found him in their midst, a giant in a white cloak on a white steed. The "white general's" personal valor was worth more than a dozen regiments. He fought his way into the Turkish trenches at the head of his men; his horse was killed, but he himself never even wounded. There was tremendous enthusiasm among the Russian troops and a splendid effort to take the next position. At half-past 4 the Turks were forced out, and this position also was in his hands. Skobelev had lost 3,000 men within the hour and was still under ruinous fire from three sides.

Then the Turks in the redoubt on his left made a sortie. Colonel Kuropätkin took 300 men and went forward to meet them in the open. Every other officer on Skobelev's staff had fallen. A desperate fight took place, in which Kuropätkin lost almost his whole 300, but the Turks were driven back into their redoubt. Skobelev was still in a position of the utmost danger, with 12,000 men against him. But he had won a name for valor and undying fame, and the Russian soldiers spoke of him as one who had the daring of the immortals. He was compelled to

fall back at last, leaving behind him 8,000 men who had died the red death of war, valorous and exultant.

Meanwhile the Grivitza redoubt had been taken, but at a ruinous loss to both Russians and Roumanians, who had fought gallantly under their leader, Prince Charles. The Turkish center had been absolutely unshaken. On the left Skobelev had been compelled to retreat.

Strategically the battle was a defeat, and Skobelev himself was defeated. Nevertheless the magnetic power of his valor under that four-fold murderous fire in the open, the splendid energy and vigor of his daring, and something large and heroic in his whole person were the qualities that fired the Russian soldiers and won the war. Skobelev had conquered fear.

Colonel Kuropàtkin, while re-forming his soldiers in the redoubt after holding back the Turks, received a contused wound on the head from the bursting of a case of cartridges. He spent the next month in hospital at Bucharest.

The Russians gathered in round Plevna and practically starved Osman out. On December 10 he surrendered, and the second obstacle to the Russian arms was overcome.

The winter that followed was terribly severe. In one Russian division 6,000 men fell victims to the cold. The thermometer sank thirty degrees below freezing, and there were ten feet of snow on the Balkans. Between Christmas and New Year the Russians were fighting their way across amid arctic storms and hurricanes. Sheets of ice, whirling wreaths of snow, Turkish sharpshooters under cover—this was their daily life. Then another splendid achievement of Skobelev and his chief of staff, Kuropàtkin. Their column, descending the Balkans, was strongly opposed by the Turks on the ridge at Imetli, taking the column in flank. The Russians stopped. Skobelev came up to the front and found his men lying down, unable to reply to the Turkish fire from the inferior range of their rifles. While Skobelev was speaking Colonel Kuropàtkin received a serious wound in the shoulder from a Turkish bullet. Skobelev ordered up a company of the Sixty-third Regiment, armed with Peabody-Martini taken at Plevna. They opened fire and silenced the Turks. The Russians lay down in the snow, expecting to be shot the next morning, and in no wise disconcerted by the expectation. Shortly after sunrise the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth regiments drove the Turks from the ridge of Imetli and advanced toward Sheinovo, joined later by the Sixty-first and Sixty-second. What follows has been commemorated by Verestchagin in a picture of grim and ghastly beauty.

Skobelev formed his troops to attack the Sheinovo redoubts. With bands playing and without firing a shot the troops moved forward to the assault in the teeth of the Turkish fire. They were badly hit all along the line, but moved forward quite steadily till they were close to the redoubts. Then they rushed in cheering. As they entered the redoubts silence closed over them. No sound, but a grim, fierce struggle hand to hand, bayonet against bayonet. The Russians were completely victorious. Twelve thousand Turks laid down their arms at Sheinovo, "one of the most splendid assaults ever made."

A fortnight later Skobelev entered Adrianople, and in March peace was made. Over the negotiations that followed it is best to draw a veil.

Colonel Kuropàtkin was awarded the golden sword of honor "for valor," and the crosses of St. Stanislaw and St. Anne of the second class and St. Vladimir of the third class, all with swords of honor. He is the only Russian general who holds the St. Stanislaw and St. Anne crosses of the second class with swords of honor.

"Lovcha, Plevna, Sheinovo" and "The Actions of General Skobelev's Division" were added to the list of his writings.

VI.—AT THE GENERAL STAFF, GEOK TÊPÉ: 1878-90.

At the close of the Russo-Turkish war Kuropàtkin was appointed director of the Asiatic department of the general staff and joint professor of military statistics in the academy from which he had issued, as its most brilliant student, five years before. Whether in that capacity he has perfected a plan for the invasion of India, a military alliance with the Afghans, or the conquest of China, are matters which are likely to remain secrets of state. But he was not destined to enjoy long rest in the northern capital. There was trouble again on the borders of Turkestan. A series of blundering expeditions from the Caspian had engulfed many Russian soldiers in the Turcoman deserts. Skobelev, the fighting general, was sent to put matters right. Kuropàtkin was put in command of the Turkestan rifle brigade. As they passed through the Caucasus, on their way to the Transcaspian province, all Tiflis came out to greet them. The great "white general," with his small dark brother Kuropàtkin, both of them full of unconquerable fire, passed on across the blue Caspian Sea. Kuropàtkin brought his Turkestan rifles to support Skobelev from the Oxus across the desert after a terribly hard march of 400 miles through the sands.

At the siege of Geok Têpé, as commander of the right wing and afterward the center of the attack, the brunt of the battle fell on Kuropàtkin.

The Turcomans were foemen worthy of the victors of Lovcha and Sheinovo. When in command of the chief storming column Kuropàtkin forced a way into the fortress by a brilliant piece of mining, and laid the foundations of a complete conquest of the Turcoman marauders—the last dregs of the great Mongol hordes.

In this assault, as in all his battles, there was a certain quiet serenity in Kuropàtkin for all his fire, as though the roar of cannon was pleasant music, the smoke-clouds scent-laden zephyrs, the menace of instant death a gentle companionship. The cross of St. George of the third class and the rank of major-general record his doings in this Turcoman campaign. Then Skobelev's sun set in a splendid carouse, to rise again in Valhalla.

From 1883 to 1890 General Kuropàtkin was busy with the work of the general staff, and played a leading part in that reorganization of the Russian army which marked the reign of Alexander III. This reorganization involved the application of the best and wisest modern standards throughout the whole army, which is now, in point of discipline, equipment, organization, and knowledge, the equal of any in the world. In moral force, courage, and unity it is probably without equal. Those who have seen the armies of all the great powers under fire are strongest in praise of the serene assurance with which the Russians can advance in the face of certain death, not less than the invincible valor of their splendid bayonet charges. Kuropàtkin has handled larger bodies of troops all along the German and Austrian frontiers in the yearly maneuvers.

VII.—TRANSCASPIAN PROVINCES: 1890-97.

What remains to tell of Kuropàtkin's life up to New Year's Day, when he became minister of war, is of high interest and value, though it cannot compare, for stirring dramatic power, with what has gone before.

On March 27, 1890, he was appointed governor of the Transcaspian province and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. It is admitted on all hands that the fruits of his rule show the wisdom of his appointment. He has completely pacified the Turcoman hordes, and carried far on the road to success that process of absorption which seems to be Russia's secret in dealing with Asian peoples. Contact with Russian rule seems to confirm and strengthen their national genius and steady them in the true path of their natural development. A railroad has been completed from Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian, right through the Turcoman country, Bokhara, and Merv to Samarcand. A branch will soon be

opened to Tashkend, where there are already telephones and electric railroads.

All along General Kuropàtkin has steadily worked to strengthen the Russian colonizing element. On the Transcaspian railroad, thanks to his persistence, Russians are taking the places formerly held by Persians and Bokharans. More than 6,000 Russians are now employed on the railroad—an element of great strength should the course of events bring about a future struggle on this utmost outpost of the Russian empire to the southeast. General Kuropàtkin has also built a carriage road over the Kopet Dagh Mountains into Persia; churches and public buildings have been added to the Transcaspian towns; about thirty Russian schools have been opened, including the Marienski College, in Askhabad; the technical railroad school; a horticultural and several municipal schools.

General Kuropàtkin has further had to organize the judicial department of the province, for the native inhabitants as well as for the colonists. And he has induced the natives to take to cotton-growing, with the result that this industry, which hardly produced 100 tons of raw cotton ten years ago, now yields an annual produce of 7,000 tons. To this period also belongs a journey to Teheran as ambassador extraordinary to the Shah of Persia in 1895.

VIII.—THE MINISTRY OF WAR: 1898.

And now, with the widest knowledge and experience to supplement his inherent genius and power, Alexei Nicolaievitch Kuropàtkin is called to the supreme post of power, the lordship of the Russian army, with its 5,000,000 men in time of war.

Russia was never so powerful, so wealthy, so full of exultant confidence in her destiny; never was there such profound peace and general well-being within the empire; never were her counsels of such weight abroad. The potent and patient genius of Alexander III. has made Russia the arbiter of Europe, as Napoleon once made France and as Bismarck made united Germany.

A long period of repose and consolidation, of high success in the arts of peace, of rapidly growing national wealth, may lead to a time of territorial growth like that which, under Alexander II., added to Russia the rich Pacific provinces on the Amoor and the whole of Turkestan. In such a period of expansion General Kuropàtkin stands for the effective organization of the will of the Russian race. It is for him to assure to the genius of his country that success which has been hers throughout three centuries of conquest.

THE LATE. ANTON SEIDL.

BY CHARLES D. LANIER.

IT is a difficult matter to write of Herr Seidl, who died so suddenly on March 28 last. A writer either has or has not come under Seidl's spell. If not, then there is as much reason for a Patagonian savage to give readings from Dante; if so, there is such a poignant realization of the greatness of this man and artist and of the poor place which true poetry occupies in our workaday lives that an appreciative biographical note savors of anti-climax. This writer believes, with thousands of others, that Anton Seidl was the greatest interpreter of music that the nineteenth century



ANTON SEIDL.

has produced. It is more generally admitted that he was the first of Wagnerian conductors and that he, more than any other, gave America what it has of the noblest music. This he did with no fury of argument, with no skill in business organization, but merely by virtue of his genius in compelling, inspiring, the sincerest efforts of the musicians beneath his baton. The hearts of the multitude were moved; they saw and felt what Wagner, what Beethoven, saw and felt.

Seidl was born in 1850 at Budapest. His musical education was begun at the Leipsic Conservatory and was continued for two years under Hans Richter at Budapest. In 1872 Wagner wrote from Bayreuth to Richter asking if he knew

of any young musician of talent who could act as a musical secretary to aid in the completion of "Parsifal" and "The Ring" from the shorthand notes and cabalistic signs with which the great composer first drafted his operas. Seidl went to Bayreuth in 1872 to do this work, and remained for five years as a member of Wagner's household. The labor of copying the long and elaborate score of these operas, together with the discussion and corrections—for some of which Seidl was responsible—was a precious preparation for the mission which later came to the young musician of introducing the master's poems to an unbelieving world. In 1878 the young secretary began his serious work as Wagner's interpreter by managing a cycle of the operas at Vienna, and during the next seven years acted as an orchestral conductor in the musical centers of Germany, Italy, and England.

It was with this magnificent equipment of experience that Seidl came to America in 1885. It is pleasant to think of his invasion of the clashing, hustling city of New York all intent on bearing the message his master, Wagner, had for the world. His task would have seemed a superhuman one to any one who did not realize how much of the raw capacity to receive poetry lies in the heart of every man and woman—New York business man, boarding-school girl, irreverent reporter, bedizened, chattering occupant of a "box," editor of a "comic" paper, or whoever it may be. Thirteen years ago Wagner was only a joke, except with a few who were looked on as full-fledged cranks. As conductor at the Metropolitan Opera House, Seidl produced during the three years preceding 1889 the first performances in America of *Die Meistersinger*, *Tristan und Isolde*, *Götterdämmerung*, and *Rheingold*. The few who had appreciated Wagner's greatness found him vastly greater than they had ever before suspected; and with this noble, contained figure leading and inspiring the orchestra to the very heights of passion and tenderness, of love and despair, real music found its way to the hearts of thousands whom the works of Beethoven and Mozart, great as they were, had failed to move. When the emotional side of his audience had been once stirred, the fine poetic figure of Anton Seidl added to the charm. Not tall, but of commanding presence, with masterly, sure gestures, most noble in their simplicity and reserve; his

strongly chiseled features firm set in grave beauty; a magnificent mane of silky hair like that of Liszt—his face and form were in such rare keeping with the music of the gods that the appeal of his reserve was more powerful than any effect attained by those conductors who are intoxicated into a fury of gesture. To have heard his orchestra in the *Vorspiel* of *Tristan* is to have at hand for one's lifetime a world of poetry to which the gate is opened at the thought of Seidl's uplifted hand and brow. It is strange enough to observe the variety of minds who were captivated by him. The most cynical of men, to whom music, before they knew Seidl, meant merely a plaything for women and womanish men, repaired night after night to the Metropolitan and spent ecstatic hours. He was, on the other hand, worshiped of women, notwithstanding his exceeding reserve; the most sentimental school-girl and the largest and finest mind alike accepted him as a hero, because he appealed to the truth in both of them. The musicians, too, adored him. He was modest and, in his quiet, unprotesting way, most kindly. He seemed undeniably one of the elder men, one who could "speak and be silent." His worth was best recognized by the very greatest of his peers, Wagner, Liszt, and Richter, and De Reszké, Lehmann, and Alvary. He brought Lehmann and Alvary with him in 1885; De Reszké refused to sing *Tristan* unless Seidl was the conductor.

In the years between 1886 and 1889 Seidl made the German opera in New York City compare favorably with any dramatic music in the world. In the season of 1890 the Metropolitan reverted for several years to operas of the Italian and French schools, and Seidl applied himself to concert work, and especially the building up of the Philharmonic Society, which has more nearly classical traditions than any other organization in the New World. He had the opportunity here, and improved it in a manner surprising even to his admirers, to show that his powers of interpretation were not by any means limited to the Wagnerian music. Beethoven's seventh and ninth symphonies, the "pathetic" sympathy of Tchaikowsky, and Dvórák's "The New World" have never been and will scarcely be interpreted with more sympathy and high intelligence.

Aside from his activities as leader of the Philharmonic, Seidl conducted a regular series of concerts under the management of the Seidl Society of Brooklyn, and of an evening in the hot season led his musicians into a large pavilion at Brighton Beach, where the thunder of the Valkyrie and of Walhalla were mingled with the roar of the waves which dashed against the walls

of the concert hall. His earnings from these many engagements were not large. The perfect outlines of a perfect artist's life were not broken in Seidl's career by the cares of building up a fortune. Indeed, he would scarcely have made a "business success;" it is said that more than once he returned his stipulated check to a manager who had not realized a fair profit.

The total effect of Seidl's work in America was to arouse here such an enthusiasm for classical music as was utterly unknown before him. He became quite the hero of the music-loving people of the country. The inspiration he gave was not at all confined to New York City and Brooklyn, for it became quite the fashion in these later days for the people of musical tastes in the West and South to come to New York or Chicago for the opera season. People of all classes in the country seized on any holiday or other opportunity to come to the city during the opera and concert season, and carried back to their homes an enduring recollection of the great orchestral leader and a new capacity for the highest enjoyment of music.

In New York City Anton Seidl was a well-known and picturesque figure on the streets, cigar in hand, next the driver of a horse-car, or even more frequently in the upper story of Fleischmann's restaurant next to Grace Church. Here during the "season" he could be seen day after day, gravely entering and bowing to acquaintances in the little circle of Germans and Austrians that regularly frequent this eating-house. One or two of these would invariably join Seidl over his simple lunch and beloved cigar, and it was charming to see how the excited gestures and loud voices of the round table they had left would be changed to a quiet demeanor and almost reverential consideration for the musician's mood. Seidl talked very little except when aroused, but his silence was more eloquent and satisfying than the best conversational efforts of many men. In the summer Seidl and his wife lived in a cottage in the Catskills named "Seidlberg." They had no children, and expended a vast amount of affection on their collection of dogs, of which Wotan, a huge St. Bernard, and Mime, a *dachshund*, were the chief and ever-present members.

Seidl was but forty-eight; the best twenty years of his life were before him. New York has asked Herr Mottl to come in his place, but for a year yet that eminent conductor is engaged. The thought of a successor merely serves to remind the lovers of Anton Seidl that his loss is final. No one can take his place to those who heard him.

GEORGE MÜLLER: A CHARACTER SKETCH.

BY W. T. STEAD.

I.—HIS LIFE-STORY.

IF George Müller had been a well-connected Englishman of standing and of fortune, the accredited representative of the national Church, if his orphanages had been launched under distinguished patronage, if their revenues had been collected by an army of enthusiastic volunteers, and if their existence had been constantly kept before the mind of the public by lavish advertisement, it would have been easy enough to account for his success. It is true that many who have had all these advantages have, nevertheless, made dismal shipwreck of their schemes; but let us admit that their existence would have been sufficient to explain the achievement which has made the name of Müller famous throughout the world. George Müller, however, as will be seen from the most cursory glance at his remarkable career, had none of these advantages. He was an alien in a strange land. George Müller was "made in Germany." He had no personal property, no independent income. He was connected for a short time—somewhat loosely connected—with a sect which, although it has done some service to the state, has neither the wealth of the Establishment nor the denominational enthusiasm of the Methodists. His orphanages were started in the humblest way, without patronage of any kind. His revenues came to him without any canvassing or any personal application for a single subscription. He never advertised—he simply prayed. And he got the cash.

HIS BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

George Müller was the son of a Prussian exciseman. He was born at a place called Kroppenstadt, near Halberstadt, in Prussian Saxony, on September 27, 1805. Twenty-four days after he was born Nelson fell at Trafalgar. In the following October Prussia fell, crashing at the feet of Napoleon on the fatal field of Jena, not to be avenged till seven years later, at the battle of Leipsic. Although Müller as a boy lived within cannon-range of the battlefields where the fate of empires was decided and was ten years old when Waterloo at last gave peace to the continent, he seems to have been absolutely unaffected by the wars and rumors of wars in the midst of which he grew up. Nowhere in any of

his writings, so far as I have been able to discover, is there so much as an allusion to the fact that his childhood was passed in the cockpit of Central Europe at the time when the fighting was the bloodiest and most incessant. It is significant of much. From his birth up political things never commanded his attention.

A BORN THIEF.

It is not that he was too much of a saint in his early days. The things of this world had an immense attraction for the lad—so great an attraction, indeed, that he could not even keep his hands from picking and stealing. If ever there was a youth who seemed predestined to end his days in a convict prison, George Müller was that lad. He seemed to be a born thief. He went astray, if not from the cradle, speaking lies and stealing money, at least from the days when he put off petticoats and wore breeches. He himself tells us, with characteristic frankness, in the very first page of his delightful autobiography, which is far more interesting even than Bunyan's "Grace Abounding for the Chief of Sinners," that he was an habitual thief before he was ten years old. And, mark you, this was none of the petty larceny of the orchard or the cupboard; it was deliberate, systematic stealing of money. He began by falsifying the little accounts he had to render to his father as to the way in which he spent his pocket-money; he went on to rob his father of the money he collected as taxes. "Before I was ten years old I repeatedly took of the government money which was intrusted to my father, and which he had to make up."

"GROSSLY IMMORAL" AT FOURTEEN.

John Bunyan, poor soul, in the excessive tenderness of his Puritan conscience, accused himself of being the chief of sinners on account of his love for bell-ringing, the playing at bowls, and a perverse habit of profanity. Compared with the lad George Müller, John Bunyan in his worst estate was a perfect saint. On the day his mother died, George, being then fourteen years old, sat playing at cards till 2 o'clock on Sunday morning; and while she lay dead in the house he spent Sunday in the tavern, and scandalized the village by staggering half drunk through the streets. On the next day he began to receive the religious instruction preparatory for confir-

mation; three or four days before taking his first communion he was "guilty of gross immorality." The very day before he was confirmed, when he went into the vestry to confess his sins to the clergyman, he cheated him out of eleven-twelfths of the fee which his father had given him to pay the parson. After his confirmation he continued to lead a dissipated, dishonest life.

A JAIL-BIRD AT SIXTEEN.

No one can be surprised after this on learning that the young scoundrel was landed in jail before he was seventeen years of age. He went off on a spree one fine day, spent six days in Magdeburg "in much sin," emptied his purse at Brunswick, where he had a sweetheart, had to sacrifice his best clothes to meet his hotel bill at one place, and then, when trying to bilk the landlord at Wolfbittel, he was arrested and clapped into jail as a rogue and vagabond. There he was kept under lock and key for three weeks, and as usual came out a good deal worse than he went in. After he came out his father flogged him harder than ever, but the lad was incorrigible. But while he lied and cheated and drank and was "habitually guilty of great sins," he did begin seriously to apply himself to his books.

A COURSE OF DEBAUCHERY AND DIVINITY.

For this young reprobate was designed by his father for the Christian ministry, chiefly, it would appear, in order that when he retired from the excise he might find a comfortable retreat in his son's parsonage. Not even a thirteen weeks' illness produced any impression on him, beyond leading him to read Klopstock's works without weariness. When he recovered he went on his swindling way, narrowly escaping a much more serious imprisonment for a barefaced fraud. When he was twenty his debauchery again laid him up on a sick-bed. When he recovered he forged his father's name, pawned his books, and set off on a tour in Switzerland with some fellow-students as racketty as himself. How utterly lost he was at this time to even the rudimentary sentiments of honor and honesty may be judged from this confession: "I was in this journey like Judas, for having the common purse I was a thief. I managed so that the journey cost me but two-thirds of what it cost my friends."

HIS CONVERSION.

Such was George Müller when, in the year 1825, he was studying at the University of Halle, one among 900 young men who as divinity students were all permitted to preach, although, as he remarked afterward, "I have reason to believe not nine of them feared the Lord." If

they, the other 890, were like George Müller, this judgment is probably not uncharitable. He says that although according to custom he took the Lord's Supper twice a year, he had no Bible and had not read it for years. "I had never heard the Gospel preached up to the beginning of November, 1825. I had never met with a person who told me that he meant by the help of God to live according to the Holy Scriptures." Nevertheless he was ill at ease, and when, in November, 1825, a comrade told him of a Saturday evening meeting at a friend's house where they read the Bible, sang, prayed, and read a printed sermon, "it was to me as if I had found something after which I had been seeking all my life"—which is peculiar, to say the least of it.

HOW IT CAME ABOUT.

Nevertheless, most things are peculiar in this odd world, and we must take things as they are. George Müller went to this Saturday evening prayer-meeting. At that time in Prussia "no regular meetings for expounding the Scriptures were allowed unless an ordained clergyman was present," so they only read a chapter and a printed sermon. But that night's meeting changed the whole of George Müller's life. How, he frankly confesses he does not exactly know. He had never seen any one on their knees before in prayer. The prayers made a deep impression on him. "I was happy, though if I had been asked why I was happy I could not have clearly explained it." When he returned home he does not remember whether he so much as knelt in prayer. "This I know, that I lay peaceful and happy in my bed." He seems to have had very little sorrow for sin. He certainly had none of John Bunyan's agony of remorse. He says: "I obtained joy without any deep sorrow of heart and with scarcely any knowledge. That evening was the turning-point of my life."

THE SHUNTING-TIME OF HIS LIFE.

His wife's account of this memorable shunting-time somewhat obscures the notable fact that salvation came to him as a vague sense of joy practically unaccompanied by any keen penitence or any distinct grasp of the doctrines of Christianity. She says:

In the little prayer-meeting for the first time he heard about the way of salvation through Jesus Christ; for the first time he saw what a wicked, guilty sinner he had been all his life long, walking without a thought or care about God, and it pleased God—to put the matter shortly—after he had entered the house as one dead in trespasses and sins, and utterly unconcerned and reckless about the things of God as one could possibly be, to allow him to leave it a Christian, although one extremely little instructed about the things of God.

He changed his manner of living, ceased to play cards, abandoned the ball-room, and burned the manuscript of a French novel which he was translating into German. He read the Scriptures, prayed often, went to church. "Apprehending in some measure the love of Jesus for my soul, I was constrained to love him in return." When he was overcome by sins, secret or open, he sorrowed in his heart, and after a time he began to think seriously of devoting himself to missionary labor.

THE "YOUNG FEMALE."

But the tempter, as of old, employed a young female, who was prone withal to beguile the young man from the upward path. Her parents would not allow her to go to the mission field, and life seemed to him barren and void without her, so for six weeks he ceased to pray, and the joy of the Lord departed from his life. But at Easter he heard of a young man of wealth who had abandoned luxury at home in order to labor among the Jews in Poland. The example smote Müller to the heart. "I had given up the work of the Lord—I may say the Lord himself—for the sake of a girl." Poor girl! she was soon dethroned. "I was enabled to give up this connection, which I had entered into without prayer and which thus had led me away from the Lord." The snare was broken, and thus "for the first time in my life I was able fully and unreservedly to give up myself to God."

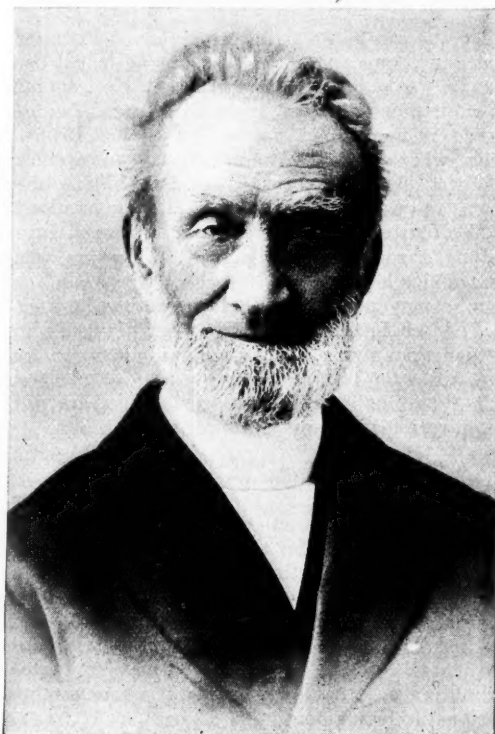
HIS FIRST EXPERIENCE OF COMPENSATION

He says that it was at this time he began truly to enjoy the peace of God which passeth all understanding, and which enabled him to withstand the wrath of his father, who was furious when his son tried to convert him, and talked about becoming a missionary, instead of qualifying for the fat living with a manse in which Müller *père* hoped to end his days. He refused to accept any money from his father, and, "by the way, I would here observe that the Lord in the most remarkable way supplied my temporal wants." Some American professors needed lessons in German, and they paid him more than the money his father used to allow him. "Thus did the Lord richly make up to me the little which I had relinquished for his sake." That is the first note in his autobiography of the teaching which vibrated more and more every year till the close of his long and useful life.

ON THE DRAWING OF LOTS.

Müller was not sure whether he ought to be a missionary. So, by way of settling the matter, he drew a lot in private and bought a ticket in

the royal lottery, deciding that if he won a prize it would be a sure sign that the Lord wished him to be a missionary. Surely, never was there a more abominable method of interrogating the Sacred Oracle. He won a prize and promptly applied to be a missionary. He was refused because he had not his father's consent. Thereupon he began to consider the error into



THE LATE GEORGE MÜLLER.

which he had fallen concerning the lot. He tried it several times, but it did not work. On one occasion when he lost his way he drew lots after prayer as to whether he should go to the right or the left. The lot fell to the left, but the left was wrong. Then he prayed the Lord to send him some one to put him in the right way, "and almost immediately a carriage came up, and I was directed on my journey."

HIS CHILD-LIKE FAITH.

Müller was now past twenty-one. He says quite truly:

From the very commencement of my divine life the Lord very graciously gave me a measure of simplicity and of child-like disposition in spiritual things, so that while I was exceedingly ignorant of the Scriptures and

was still from time to time overcome even by outward sins, yet I was enabled to carry most minute matters to the Lord in prayer.

So far from feeling that the Almighty would resent this perpetual troubling him with all the good George's anxieties concerning the life that now is, as well as the life which is to come, he was firmly of opinion that the Lord expected it, and rather resented his failure to consult him upon every trifling detail of his existence.

AN ODD INSTANCE.

Of this the most extraordinary illustration is afforded us in the passage in which, when his wife, after a seventeen hours' labor, was delivered of a still-born child—her first-born—this astounding man actually makes an entry in his journal that as he had never earnestly prayed about her confinement, never having seriously thought of the great danger connected with it—it was his first experience—"he had no doubt the Lord now, in great compassion, sent this heavy blow." Afterward, when his boy was born, he left his wife to face her trouble while he went to fulfill a preaching engagement. When he came home the son was born. Whereupon he writes:

Observe—(1) The Lord graciously sent the medical attendant and the nurse (the latter nearly three miles off) in the right time; (2) the Lord put it into my heart to honor him by preferring the care of his house to that of my own, and thus he lovingly spared me three painful hours.

That is George Müller all through. We cannot help wondering what the wife thought about it. Human ideas of justice are somewhat difficult to harmonize with inflicting seventeen hours' torture on the wife as a punishment for the husband's shortcomings.

FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE JEWS.

I am, however, anticipating. George Müller began to preach and to distribute tracts. He had his ups and downs like other men, and on one occasion backslid so far as to fall to drink. But although he used to be able to quaff five quarts of strong beer in an afternoon, he could not now get beyond two or three glasses of wine, and soon gave it up. He diligently availed himself of all the accessible means of grace. The Moravians refreshed his soul. He would walk ten or fifteen miles on Sunday to hear any godly minister, and he carefully eschewed all profane literature.

When he was twenty-one he had a call to go as a missionary to the Jews. He was a great student of Hebrew, and was in June, 1828, accepted as a missionary student on probation by the London Society for the Conversion of the

Jews. He had still his term to serve in the Prussian army. Fortunately, however, a temporary backsliding which led him to attend a performance in the Leipzig Opera House, where he took a glass of ice-water, brought on a serious illness, which led the army doctors to reject him as unfit for military service, having "a tendency to consumption." Greatly rejoicing at his escape, George Müller landed in London on March 19, 1829. He went to the seminary and spent twelve hours a day studying Hebrew and Chaldee. Most of the students were German, and he had little opportunity of mastering our language. His health broke down before midsummer, and he was ordered into the country.

HE TURNS TO THE GENTILES.

He went to Teignmouth, where he met Henry Craik, who was destined to be afterward so closely associated with his life.

At Teignmouth he began to preach in his broken English to a little church of 18 members, meeting in Ebenezer Chapel. While there he became a Calvinist, a Second Adventist, and a believer in the baptism of believers. His preaching excited much opposition at first. This, curiously enough, seemed to him to be a sure sign of his call:

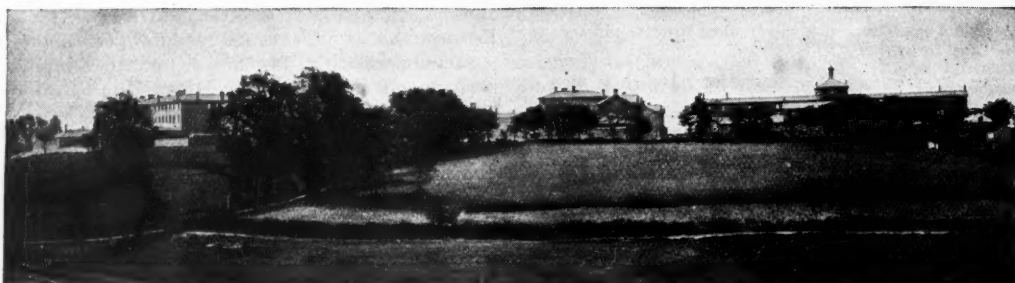
I could not explain it in any other way than this: that the Lord intended to work through my instrumentality at Teignmouth, and that therefore Satan, fearing this, sought to raise opposition against me.

An admirable formula, worthy to be had in eternal remembrance.

He soon came to the conclusion that his vocation was not the conversion of stiff-necked Jews who would not listen to the Gospel. He wished to follow St. Paul's example and turn to the gentiles. Besides, with the sturdy and excessive individuality of the man, he objected to be at the beck and call of a society. He must be God's man and God's alone; no one should give him orders save the Holy Spirit. And as the Divine Monitor had laid it upon his soul that he must go preaching tours among the churches, it is not very surprising that on January 30, 1830, the missionary society severed their connection with Mr. G. F. Müller.

PASTOR WITHOUT SALARY.

He was now free. He accepted the unanimous invitation of the church at Teignmouth to become their pastor, on the munificent salary of £55 per annum. On this he married in October, and almost immediately afterward he gave up any regular salary. He had conscientious objections. A box for free-will offerings was put up in the church, pew rents were abolished, and he



GENERAL VIEW OF MR. MÜLLER'S ORPHANAGES AT BRISTOL.

decided to trust God and the people for the means of subsistence.

He remained at Teignmouth till May, 1832, when he removed to Bristol. The membership of the Teignmouth church had risen from 18 to 51. All his wants had been supplied. He had married and had gained recognition as a spiritual force from Exeter to Barnstaple.

SETTLES AT BRISTOL.

In 1832, when he removed to Bristol, he carried on the same kind of work in the same kind of way—nursing the sick through the cholera epidemic, feeding the hungry as a means of doing something for the souls of poor boys and girls, and generally forging ahead, until on March 5, 1834, he boldly launched the Scriptural Knowledge Institution for Home and Abroad, of which institution his orphanage, although far and away the best-known branch, is only one department among many. But now, having sketched in rapid, cursory fashion the life of George Müller up to this point, I will suspend the personal narrative in order to put together, as briefly and as succinctly as possible, the facts about the orphanage.

II.—HIS LIFE-WORK.

The Scriptural Knowledge Institution for Home and Abroad had the following objects, namely: (1) To establish day-schools, Sunday-schools, and adult schools; (2) to circulate the Holy Scriptures, and particularly among the very poorest of the poor; (3) to aid missionary operations; (4) to circulate religious books, pamphlets, and tracts for the benefit of believers and of unbelievers (an object added some time afterward).

THE PRINCIPLES OF HIS ORPHANAGES.

The account from which this is extracted goes on: (5) In 1835 the orphan work was established. Of the principles of the institution two only need be mentioned—first, that debt should never be incurred; and, second, that no rich, great

man should be its patron, but that the living God alone should be the patron of the institution.

The Lord helping us, we do not mean to seek the patronage of the world, as we never intend to ask unconverted persons of rank or wealth to countenance this institution, because this we consider would be dishonorable to the Lord. He alone shall be our patron. We reject altogether the help of unbelievers in managing or carrying on the affairs of the institution.

Unbelievers were allowed to contribute, but were never to be asked to do so, even Mr. Müller finding it difficult to detect unbelief in the free gift of a willing heart.

HIS OTHER WORK.

Of the less-known part of his work the following summary must suffice:

In various localities schools were supported with a view of extending the influence of Christian teaching, and thus in sixty-three years of work 121,683 young people have been taught, a number altogether outside the orphanage work. That is not all. In the same period there have been circulated, by means of this institution, in almost all parts of the world and in many different languages, 281,652 Bibles, 1,448,662 New Testaments, 21,343 copies of the Book of Psalms, and 222,196 other portions of the Holy Scriptures. Copies of the Scriptures have been sold at half price by Bible carriages journeying to out-of-the-way districts. When Spain was opened to this work in 1868 Mr. Müller promptly sent many thousands of copies in Spanish, and so in the case of Italy. In other parts of the world similar work has been done. The distribution of religious literature has been in the aggregate enormous, more than 111,000,000 books, pamphlets, and tracts having been sent out.

Nearly £400,000 has been raised and expended in this work. The sum raised and expended on the orphanage is in round numbers about £1,000,000.

THE NEED FOR THE ORPHANAGES.

In 1834, when Mr. Müller began his work, there were no orphanages in England. Between April, 1836, and May 26, 1897, the orphan houses had provided for 9,844 children, and for their maintenance and for the buildings nearly a

million of money (£964,764) had been given. Writing in 1891 Mr. Müller said :

At the time when it was especially laid on my heart to labor for orphans, the total accommodation in all the orphan institutions in England was for 3,600 orphans, and at the same time there were 6,000 orphans under eight years of age in the prisons of England, according to public statistics. This deeply affected me, and I sought therefore to enlarge the orphan work under my direction to the utmost of my power. This ended in providing accommodation for 2,050 orphans and 112 helpers at a time, and the result of this has been that by means of other individuals or through societies one institution after another has been opened for the reception of 20, 30, 50, or 100 orphans ; or that orphan houses have been built for 200, 300, 400, and even 500 orphans, so that now, I am happy to say, there is accommodation in England alone for at least 100,000 orphans.

HOW THEY GREW.

In April, 1836, Mr. Müller opened a large rented house in Wilson Street, Bristol, for the reception of 30 orphans ; in November, 1836, he opened a second house in Wilson Street for the reception of 36 orphans ; in 1837 a third house for 30 orphans ; and in 1843 a fourth house for 30 orphans. There were now 126 orphans and 11 helpers or teachers and matrons. In 1849, as no houses were to be had suitable for orphans, he opened the first orphan house on Ashley Down, which he had built for 300 children ; in November, 1857, he opened a second orphan house, built and fitted up for 400 children ; in March, 1862, a third house for 450 children ; in 1868 a fourth house for 450 orphans ; and in 1869 a fifth house for 450 orphans. Thus he had accommodation for 2,050 orphans and 112 helpers. The term of residence at Ashley Down has averaged between eight and nine years, but some girls admitted as infants have remained under the sheltering roof over seventeen years.

THEIR MANAGEMENT.

Between April, 1836, and May 26, 1897, 9,844 orphans had passed through or were then residing in the Müller orphanages. Of the principles on which the orphanages were founded and are still managed it is best to quote Mr. Müller's own words :

"No sectarian views prompt nor even in the least influence Mr. Wright and myself in the reception of children. We do not belong to any sect, and are not, therefore, influenced in the admission of orphans and sectarianism ; but from whatever place they come, to whatever religious denomination the parents may have belonged, or with whatever religious body the persons making application may be connected, makes no difference in the admission of the children." He, however, laid down three essentials as a preliminary to admission to the institution. Only legitimate children were eligible, and they must have lost both parents by death and be in needy circumstances. Given these three qualifica-

tions and the necessary proofs that the statements made about them were correct, Mr. Müller and his associates refused none who came as long as there was room for the applicant to be found a place. Some of those admitted have been infants only a few months old and others have been considerably older, and as a rule the stay in the institution has been a lengthy one. Girls generally remain under its care until they are seventeen years of age. In one of his narratives the philanthropist himself briefly states the kind of training given, the reference being first to girls. These are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, English history, a little of universal history, all kinds of useful needlework and household work. They make their clothes and keep them in repair ; they work in the kitchens, sculleries, wash-houses, and laundries ; and in a word we aim at this, that if any of them do not turn out well, temporarily or spiritually, and do not become useful members of society, it shall not at least be our fault. The boys are generally apprenticed when they are between fourteen and fifteen years old, a sum of £13 being paid with each apprentice ; but in each case we consider the welfare of the individual orphan, without having any fixed rule respecting these matters. The boys have a free choice of the trade or business they like to learn, but having once chosen and having been apprenticed, we do not allow them to alter. The boys as well as the girls have an outfit provided for them, and any other expenses that may be connected with their apprenticeship are also met by the funds of the orphan establishment."

THE APOSTOLIC TOURS OF A SEPTUAGENARIAN.

It was quite late in life that Mr. Müller developed the extraordinary bent for traveling round the world preaching the Gospel. It is almost incredible, but it is nevertheless the fact, that his itinerant missionary labors began when he had passed the limit of three-score and ten. Here is a list of his apostolic tours :

1. March to June, 1875—England.
2. August, 1875, to July, 1876—England, Scotland, and Ireland.
3. September, 1876, to September, 1877—Europe.
4. 1878—Canada and the United States ; 19,247 miles, 308 addresses.
5. 1879—Europe.
6. August, 1879, to June, 1880—United States and Canada.
7. September, 1880, to May, 1881—United States and Canada.
8. 1882—Egypt, Asia Minor, Turkey, and Greece.
9. 1882—Germany, Austria, Russia, and Poland.
10. 1883—India.
11. 1884—England and Wales.
12. 1885—Isle of Wight.
13. November, 1885, to June, 1886—Australia, China, and Japan ; 37,280 miles.
14. October, 1886, to April, 1889—Australia, New Zealand, and India.

HIS REFLECTIONS WHEN NINETY YEARS OLD.

Mr. Müller could preach the Gospel in seven languages. He had preached it in 42 countries, and the distance covered on those journeys was

more than six times round the world. He did not spare himself. He sometimes preached 38 times in 36 days, or 17 times in 15 days (as at Dundee), or 21 times in 20 days (as in Dublin). At Liverpool and Hull he preached 48 times in 38 days. Speaking at Bethesda on his ninetieth birthday, Mr. Müller said:

He had traveled 200,000 miles by land and sea with his departed wife; had preached in 42 countries in Europe, America, Africa, Asia, and the six Australian colonies. Although formerly he used to suffer much from seasickness, he placed himself at God's disposal, and in all his journeys by sea had never suffered from sickness during these tours. He had crossed the Atlantic 7 times, had been over the Red Sea 5 times, 16 times had been over the Mediterranean. He had crossed the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, and never once had he been the least sick. See how good it was to be an obedient servant of Christ. His mental powers were as clear as when he passed his examinations and wrote essays in Latin, French, German, and had to pass examinations in Hebrew and Greek, mathematics, history, and the like. These examinations were seventy years and six months ago. How they should admire the Lord's kindness! See how God could use a miserable worm which was only a wreck when brought to the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, and who was that evening at the commencement of his ninety-first year. For sixty-nine years and ten months he had been a happy man—a very happy man. That he attributed to two things. He had maintained a good conscience, not willfully going on in a course he knew to be contrary to the mind of God; he did not mean, of course, he was perfect; he was poor, weak, and sinful. Secondly, he attributed it to his love for the Holy Scripture. Of late years his practice had been four times every year to read through the Scriptures with application to his own heart and with meditation, and at that day he was a greater lover of the Word of God than he was sixty-six years ago. The more it was treated with carelessness and indifference and the more it was reasoned away, the more he stuck close to it. It was this and maintaining a good conscience that had given him all those scores of years peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

III.—THE PRAYER TELEPHONE.

These details are interesting enough. But they only lead up to the real topic of importance, the way in which George Müller proved and tested the practical working value of that spiritual telephone the prayer of faith. There is no doubt that it worked, worked every day and all days for over sixty years. Worked too with a punctuality and a certainty, although not with a regularity, which filled even those who regarded him as a heretic with admiration.

A PRAYER FOR A SOUTH WIND.

For instance, take this tribute to Müller's child-like confidence in God, and which, after his death, was specially signaled out by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Clifton for the encouragement of the faith of his own flock. The bishop said:

At Mr. Müller's orphanage some forty years ago it was discovered that the boiler of the heating apparatus was in a dangerous condition. To repair it the brick-work in which it was imbedded had to be pulled to pieces. The fires must be put out for at least three days. A bitterly cold north wind was blowing. Mr. Müller had read in the Bible that when Nehemiah was building the temple he accomplished it, "for the men had a mind to work." So he prayed for two things—that the north wind might be changed into a south wind and also that the workmen might have a mind to work. The day that the fires were put out the wind changed and blew from the south, and the children did not feel the cold. When the evening of the first day came the men asked to speak to Mr. Müller, and said they had been talking it over among themselves and had all agreed to work all that night, so that the children might not be kept without fires! Thus the men had a mind to work.

Of course the great god Coincidence will be invoked to account for the changing of the wind from north to south, but coincidences that always occur in regular sequence, at least, suggest the existence of some relations other than those of mere chance.

A PRELIMINARY TEST.

Without discussing this further, let us see how the orphanage came into existence which was to become so gigantic and conspicuous an illustration of the potency of the prayer of faith. From what has been already said, it will have been seen that George Müller had long relied upon answers to prayer for his financial needs before the orphanage was started. He found that the results of relying on prayer as compared with the regular income which he had given up were encouraging. For every secured pound which he had sacrificed he received two or three by the way of prayer. From the purely financial point of view he had gained money, hands down, by trusting the Lord for his own needs. Hence, before he made the experiment about the orphanage, he had put his principle to a preliminary test extending over nearly six years. Again and again his last penny had been spent, and he had not had a sixpenny-piece in hand with which to meet the anticipated visit of the tax-collector. But time after time the money always turned up before it was wanted. In the year 1835, for instance, £5, sent from a distance of eighty miles, arrived just before the collector called for the taxes. George Müller was always able to meet every call upon him. He never got into debt.

THE FIRST CALL.

It was on October 28, 1834, that he first began to think seriously about the matter. A little orphan boy who had been "brought to a real concern about his soul through what I said concerning the torments of hell" was taken to the

workhouse, some six miles distant, and could therefore no longer "attend our school and ministry." In his journal Müller wrote: "May this, if it be the Lord's will, lead me to do something also for the supply of the temporal wants of poor children."

It was not, however, till twelve months later that he began no longer to think about "the establishment of an orphan house, but actually to set about it." His first idea was, as usual, "to ascertain the Lord's mind." After a month spent "much in prayer" he became more and more convinced that the idea was "of God." But let no humanitarian reader, intent solely upon the filling of the hungry stomachs and clothing the naked backs of the starving orphans, imagine that the good Müller was moved to this conclusion solely by any such considerations of a materialistic philanthropy. Nothing of the kind. As Mrs. Browning has told us, "It takes a soul to move a body e'en to a cleaner sty," and George Müller's desire to start the orphanage was only in a very secondary way due to his pity and sympathy for the physical sufferings of the children. The children, indeed, were by no means the first object of his solicitude.

WHY HE FOUNDED THE ORPHANAGE.

In his published journal he tells us frankly and fully why it was he wanted the orphanage. He says that in his ministry he had so often found Christians full of misgivings and ready to faint for lack of faith that he saw that "one of the especial things which the children of God needed in our day was to have their faith strengthened." Some were afraid to take the time necessary for reading the Bible and prayer for fear their business might suffer; others went through life with a haunting dread of the workhouse hanging over their heads; while others were afraid to trust God to provide for them if they fearlessly obeyed his commands. The object for which he longed was "to have something to point the brother to as a visible proof that our God and Father is the same faithful God as ever he was, as willing as ever to prove himself to be the living God in our day as formerly to all who put their trust in him." Over and over again he recurs to this. He wanted a sign, a proof, something to point to, like the going back of the shadow on the sun-dial of King Ahaz or like the budding of Aaron's rod. That was what he was after—a tangible object-lesson impossible to be misunderstood: that if you took God at his word you would never have reason to regret it.

A GERMAN PRECEDENT.

When he was thinking and praying his mind was naturally led to the idea of an orphanage as

a prayer test, because "I remembered what a great blessing my own soul had received through the Lord's dealings with his servant, A. H. Francke, who, in dependence upon the living God alone, established an immense orphan house, which I had seen many times with my own eyes"—to wit, when he was a student at Halle. Professor Francke died in 1727, but his orphanage was flourishing one hundred years later—may be still flourishing, for aught I know. Müller, having seen with his own eyes the success of an orphanage as a prayer test in Germany, felt naturally more disposed to try a similar system in Bristol.

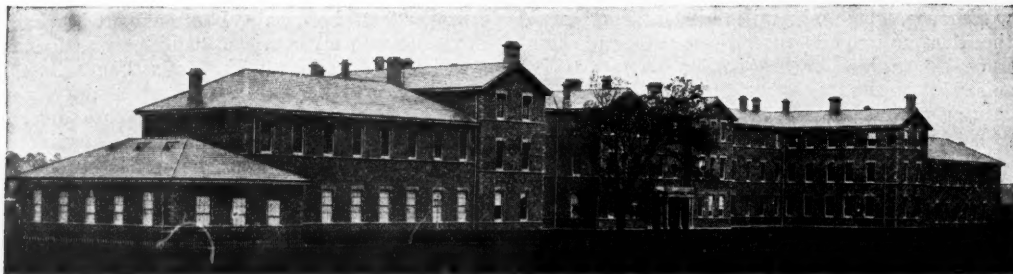
THE ORPHANAGE AS A PRAYER TEST.

It is necessary to insist upon this point, because the popular idea is that he established the orphanage to help the orphans, and that in some mysterious way the invisible powers rewarded the excellence of his intention by supplying him with funds. This is putting the cart before the horse. He did not use the prayer telephone in order to found the orphanage. He founded the orphanage in order to demonstrate the utility of the prayer telephone. He wanted, he wrote in his journal, to set before the world at large and the Church a proof that God had not in the least changed, and this, he adds, "seemed to me best done by the establishing of an orphan house." He proceeds:

It needed to be something which could be seen, even by the natural eye. Now, if I, a poor man, simply by prayer and faith, obtained, without asking any individual, the means for establishing and carrying on an orphan house, there would be something which, with the Lord's blessing, might be instrumental in strengthening the faith of the children of God, besides being a testimony to the consciences of the unconverted of the reality of the things of God. This, then, was the primary reason for establishing the orphan house. I certainly did from my heart desire to be used by God to benefit the bodies of poor children bereaved of both parents, and seek, in other respects, with the help of God, to do them good for this life. I also particularly longed to be used by God in getting the dear orphans trained up in the fear of God; but still the first and primary object of the work was (and still is) that God might be magnified by the fact that the orphans under my care are provided with all they need only *by prayer and faith*, without any one being asked by me and my fellow-laborers, whereby it may be seen that God is *faithful still and hears prayer still*.

A SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENT.

"That it might be seen by the whole world and the whole Church of God that yet in these days God listens to prayer, and that God is the same in prayer and love as he ever was"—that was the thesis which George Müller set himself to establish. That he was enabled to write Q.



ORPHANAGE NUMBER FOUR.

E. D. after it, with the confident certainty of Euclid himself, few will deny who follow his story year by year from 1836 to 1898. He was an experimental philosopher, was George Müller. Professor Tyndall long after suggested a prayer gauge in a hospital ward, but the Bristol philanthropist had anticipated the president of the British Association by nearly half a century. Here was the genuine method of the man of science applied to the verifying of the working hypothesis of the German missionary.

A ROMANCE STUDDERED WITH MIRACLES.

The story of the great experiment from its inception to the close reads like one continuous romance—a romance studded with miracles, which only ceased to be regarded as miracles because they happened every day. And with the element of romance and of miracle there is mingled such grotesque absurdity—according to modern rationalistic notions—that it is difficult to refrain from bursting out into laughter.

When, in that fateful December of 1835, George Müller was weighing the *pros* and *cons* of the orphan house experimental test, he had grave doubts as to whether his desire to erect a prayer gauge in this fashion was of God or was of the devil. Had God not already given him so much to do? He was then thirty years old, and already he had established three day-schools, a Sunday-school, and an adult school, and was carrying on three charity day-schools, which would otherwise have been closed for lack of funds. He was also helping foreign missions and distributing Bibles and Testaments by the thousand.

A TEXT OF DESTINY.

On December 5 he was reading the eighty-first Psalm. It is a psalm of thanksgiving indited by some pious Hebrew more than two thousand years since in praise of the marvelous loving-kindness of God to Israel, especially as it was manifested in the Exodus. The tenth verse runs: "I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Open thy mouth wide and I will

fill it." Interpreted historically, rationally, or in any conceivably natural method, this poetical refrain applied, first, to that familiar incident of the Exodus—the feeding of the Israelites with manna and with quails, and with possibly some reference to the circumstances of Israel at the time when the psalm was written. On any rational system of interpretation it could certainly not be construed as containing a promise binding the Lord God of Israel to fill the mouth of George Müller, the German missionary at Bristol in the nineteenth century, however wide he might choose to open it. But, incredible though it may appear, it was this text and that interpretation of this text which decided George Müller to start his orphan house.

"OPEN THY MOUTH WIDE!"

He says:

The whole of those two weeks I never asked the Lord for money or for persons to engage in the work. On December 5, however, the subject of my prayer all at once became different. I was reading Psalm lxxxi., and was particularly struck, more than at any time before, with verse 10: "*Open thy mouth wide and I will fill it.*" I thought a few moments about these words, and then was led to apply them to the case of the orphan house. It struck me that I had never asked the Lord for anything concerning it, except to know his will respecting its being established or not; and I then fell upon my knees and opened my mouth wide, asking him for much. I asked in submission to his will, and without fixing a time when he should answer my petition. I prayed that he would give me a house—*i.e.*, either as a loan or that some one might be led to pay the rent for one, or that one might be given permanently for this object; further, I asked him for £1,000 and likewise for suitable individuals to take care of the children. Besides this I have been since led to ask the Lord to put into the hearts of his people to send me articles of furniture for the house and some clothes for the children.

"AND I WILL FILL IT."

Next day nothing came. The day after he received his first shilling. Before night a second shilling was added to it. On December 9 a wardrobe came along. At the meeting 10 shillings was subscribed. No collection was taken,

but one sister offered herself for the work. On December 10 he sent to the press a statement of what he proposed to do. The same day a brother and a sister offered themselves for the work. They would give up all their furniture for the use of the home and were willing to work without salary. "In the evening a brother brought from several individuals three dishes, twenty-eight plates, three basins, one jug, four mugs, three salt-stands, one grater, four knives, and five forks." This was the beginning of a story of magical attraction heretofore seldom seen out of the "Arabian Nights."

THE MAGIC OF PRAYER.

The magic continued to work, increasing more and more and day by day, and still as the funds came in George Müller opened his mouth wider and still more wide. On December 12 an individual unexpectedly gave £50. So "I was led to pray that this day the Lord would give still more." In the evening accordingly there were sent in twenty-nine yards of print. Sister after sister came in offering themselves for work in the orphan house. Then premises which it had cost £2,600 to build were offered him as a free gift if he could raise £500 to extend them. In January, and again in May, Mr. Müller put statements in the papers of his proposals, but no subscriptions were asked for personally, nor were any acknowledged publicly by name. Still, although the orphan house was opened in April, 1837, the whole of the £1,000 had not been raised. In May Mr. Müller was sending to the press an account of "The Lord's Dealings with George Müller," and he grudged sorely issuing it until every penny had been subscribed. So he gave himself much to prayer. The Central was rung up pretty continuously these May days, and soon the money began to roll in. One day £7 10s. came, £40 another, and so on with a multitude of trinkets: one gold pin, fifteen Irish pearls, two brooches, two locketts, eleven rings, one bracelet, etc., all of gold. At last, on June 15, he had received £995. One more day was spent in prayer, and in came the lacking five-pound note. George Müller's mouth was filled at last, and he called on the brethren and sisters beloved in the Lord to help him to praise the Lord.

HOW THE PROMISE HAS BEEN KEPT.

That was how it began. How it grew and prospered until it became a mighty institution sheltering 2,000 orphans and entailing an annual expenditure of £20,000 must be read in detail in the reports of "The Lord's Dealings with George Müller." The orphan house as a test was a

brilliant success. It verified George Müller's hypothesis every day for sixty years:

While we have often been brought low, yea, so low that we have not had even as much as a single penny left, or so as to have the last bread on the table, and not as much money as was needed to buy another loaf, yet never have we had to sit down to a meal without our good Lord having provided nourishing food for us. I am bound to state this, and I do it with pleasure. My Master has been a kind Master to me, and if I had to choose this day again as to the way of living, the Lord giving me grace, I would not choose differently.

THE PRAYER OF FAITH OR TELEPATHY?

Forty-nine out of every fifty donors were personally unknown by Mr. Müller. None of the donors were ever personally appealed to for a penny. Not a farthing was spent in advertisements. No collections were made. No vanity was stimulated by the publication of the names of donors in subscription lists. Modest little reports were issued from time to time, and that was all. Of course, excepting the prayer of faith. That telephone was constantly switched on to Ashley Down. And the results were what we see. Mr. Müller rung up the Central, and the Central switched him on to a marvelous multitude of persons in all parts of the world who had the wherewithal to minister to his needs. It was very seldom that Mr. Müller specifically named any one to be switched on to. Once, however, when he wanted £100 very badly, he prayed that it might be laid upon the heart of one particular person to give him £100. And lo, it came to pass even as he had prayed! The £100 came along next day. Telepathy, no doubt! Yes.

THE CENTRAL?

But who governed the telepathic thought-waves, so that when Mr. Müller gave them no definite direction they were transmitted direct to those who could contribute? Over and over again the subscribers accompanied their remittances by the statement that "God had told them to send it in." The ground on which the orphanage stands was obtained in this way, not as a gift, but at a heavy reduction. Mr. Müller had called twice upon the vendor, and found him out both times:

Mr. Müller now judged that God had some intention in the matter, and resolved not to call at the gentleman's residence later in the day, as he might have done. The following morning, however, Mr. Müller saw him, and the gentleman at once stated that he was prepared for the visit, for the previous night he had been unable to sleep, and while lying awake God had told him that if Mr. Müller called again he must sell him the land at £120 per acre instead of £200, the price he had been asking for it. The compact was drawn up and signed within ten minutes, and thus Mr. Müller secured the seven

acres of land for £560 less than he would have done the night before!

AT LAST HELP ALWAYS CAME.

I have filled up all my available space, and as yet I have but told of the beginning of the work—the planting of the acorn which was so steadily and so speedily to grow into the magnificent oak that shelters 2,000 orphans at Ashley Down. In the very last report he ever issued, Mr. Müller affirmed once more that the aim and object of the institution was to prove that the living God was still the living God, as in the days of the prophets three thousand to four thousand years ago, as in the days of the apostles eighteen hundred and sixty years ago.

When we need money to carry on the various branches of the institution we ask no former donors to help us, we do not send out especial appeals for help, we have no collections. We do nothing but pray, and patiently wait God's time for help; and he invariably helps us, though very, very often during the past sixty-three years we have had our patience and faith greatly tried before help came. *But at last it always came.*

Again he wrote, after sixty-seven years' experience:

Everything that I needed for myself or my family I received from God in answer to prayer, without ever appealing to any human being in the whole world for anything, or even informing any human being of my need. . . . When I was in forty-two countries all over the world engaged in my missionary labors, I often needed to pay down £100, £140, yea, even £240 for a passage to Australia, to and fro, for myself and Mrs. Müller, but I always had the means of doing so without asking any one for help.

SO LIKE THE TELEPHONE.

A volume might be filled with anecdotes each, if it stood by itself, sufficient to be ranked as a miracle, at least as miraculous as those in the "Lives of the Saints," illustrating the way in which this man's prayers were answered. But at the orphan house they appeared as much a matter of course as it seems to us to receive answers from the telephone. That mundane instrument also tries our patience pretty severely at times. But it works; and so did George Müller's prayer of faith.

The way in which the money came rolling in—nay, to this hour continues to roll in—as thank-offerings, as conscience money, as donations, as bequests, can only be glanced at here. Mr. Müller would never insure his property; and those who followed his example, leaving the preservation of their premises from fire to the care of the Lord, used to send the insurance money in to the orphan house. One donor sent in £2 7s. 6d. one year, "instead of insuring my men against accidents under the Employers' Liability act of 1880." It is difficult to repress

a smile while reading some of the acknowledgments in the report. One good soul sent in £1 with this statement: "Our Heavenly Father has given us thirty-four chickens, and not one of them has been taken by the fox, although our neighbors have lost many!"

THANK-OFFERINGS.

A newspaper writer in Bristol says:

Then thank-offerings would be received for the recovery of debts; for preservation from fire; for health; for harvest; and for sleep; for preservation from injury in falling through a trap-door; for being delivered from perils in darkness on a Canadian prairie; for not having been killed, but only greatly hurt, in being thrown from a horse; for "having caught the train several times when being on important business and having very little time;" for restoring two cows that were very ill and not expected to live; (from a wife) for her husband not having drunk any beer at Christmas; for a horse having turned out well; for having "broken my left arm," and not "my right arm" or "my neck or head;" for "the safe delivery of a valued servant and a sow from an enraged bull;" for "relieving my dear daughter of a violent face ache;" for "the restoration of a very bad finger;" for a ten-pound note, which it was thought was bad, turning out to be a good one; for "a very dear, sweet stepmother;" and for preservation from injury—the donor had only left his bath-room about five minutes when the ceiling fell.

And so forth and so forth. These things did not occur in the ages of faith. They are occurring this very day, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, in the midst of this materialist and skeptical generation.

And now, reader, what do you make of it all? Did George Müller verify his tremendous hypothesis or did he not? It is possible of course to criticise the deductions that may be drawn from the experiment. There can be no question as to the result of the experiment itself.

What George Müller set himself to prove was that the old telephone known as the prayer of faith was a living reality, a practical and most convenient method of obtaining his ends. That he certainly proved—if anything can ever be said to be proved. And let it never be forgotten that while others talk of George Müller being a specially gifted man of faith, George Müller himself always scouted the notion. To attribute any special quality to him as an explanation of the success of his petitions would in his eyes have destroyed the chief object for which he established the orphan house. He did it to prove to every humble, believing soul that he or she, equally with George Müller, could draw on the divine treasury for all their needs. But to do so it is necessary to be in connection and to have your batteries, the electricity in which is faith, well charged. Otherwise you may subscribe to the exchange, but the telephone won't work.

THE MOVEMENT FOR BETTER PRIMARIES.

BY WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS.

I.—ITS CAUSES.

A DECADE ago the ballot reformer was much in evidence. To-day his younger brother proclaims the need of pure primaries. Then an officially regulated election was announced as the harbinger of our political millennium. Now, with that millennium as far away as before, we are told that the trouble was not with the election, but with the caucus. The elder reformer was partly right; the electors of to-day thank him for their opportunity to vote in secret and for the certainty that their votes will be counted and returned as cast. The younger brother, too, is partly right, and soon may be able to point to another officially regulated election day for caucus purposes and say proudly, "I helped to accomplish that!" But in hoping for a political millennium both are rainbow-chasing. They must be satisfied if they can but help. Politics will be politics to the end. Leaders may become bosses. He who would change our primary election laws should ask little more than that every opportunity be given to be rid of an unsatisfactory leader or to make a political organization responsive to its voters. Thus far the reformer and the liberal partisan can go together. In that unity of purpose lies the hopefulness of the present movement for better primaries.

SWEEP OF THE MOVEMENT.

The movement is both spontaneous and widespread. No primary election law worthy the name has been in force more than three years. Yet the ambitious legislator who has not already built political castles in Spain with materials taken from this or that plan to reform the primaries is rare. Michigan, Minnesota, and Massachusetts enacted primary laws in 1895; California's law of that year was declared unconstitutional and reenacted in 1897. This year Illinois fell into line and has already tried its new law; primary reform bills have been prominent in the Legislatures of half a dozen States; while in New York the agitation became epidemic, and reformers and politicians have been tumbling over one another in their zeal to help enact a primary election law.

History is repeating itself. In a little more than a decade our body electorate has again risen, and the phenomena which marked the spontaneous adoption of the Australian ballot system again appear. They characterize and emphasize this

newest of reforms—officially conducted primaries. But with this difference: there is the same demand voiced by the non-political classes; the same heedless rush after anything, good or bad, if but a reform; the same willingness on the part of legislators to give statutory expression to the popular demand. But this time the problem is not so easy. It was not difficult to frame a system for voting based upon a formal registration and which guaranteed a secret ballot and an honest count. We had but to copy the statutes and be guided by the experience of our Australian cousins. The disease of caucus corruption, however, broke out first in our own land—at least here for the first time have the symptoms been acute and the need of a general application of healing remedies universally recognized. Student and politician alike have become convinced of the necessity of some decidedly allopathic doses. Hence perhaps the many nostrums—the seemingly unlimited remedies. Hence, too, the unending conferences and the growing heap of bills and reports devoted to primary laws!

THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED.

In short, the present problem is involved in problems. To prescribe that a man must reside in his election precinct a specified time and formally register before he may vote was easy; but to prescribe a test by which shall be determined whether a voter is a party man or not, and then to add to it a scheme whereby, without increasing the duties of electoral citizenship to a prohibitive point, the elector may be enrolled as a party voter and protected in his right to vote at his party's primaries, suggest difficulties as apparent to the plain citizen as they are to the politician. We elected our officers all over the country in much the same way before the ballot laws went into effect. But the caucus systems, the notice required, the choice of officers, whether the vote shall be by ballot or not, and the test of allegiance to party, vary not merely from State to State, but from city to city and village to village. A State law regulating primaries must solve that problem, uniformity in operation being essential. The average legislator was easily convinced that no political harm might come to him from an official and secret ballot. But that same legislator looks doubtful and for a time is inclined to rebel when the caucus rules he understands are threatened and new-fangled devices of which

he knows nothing are suggested; for how will such laws affect his political future?

The problem is complicated, too, by the very insidiousness of the malady. The old-time caucus was an informal town meeting. In communities having a scattered but fixed population such a caucus accomplished its purpose. But in the centers of population, the great cities, evils developed which live in the words "snap calls," "packed caucuses," and their like. The primaries of that period, however, were public, and if sometimes controlled by brute force, they yielded in the end to public opinion, whether expressed in a policeman's night-stick or in a vigorous rebuke at the polls. With the coming of the official ballot the evolution of the caucus began. From the caucus in a hat we quickly evolved to a caucus in a head—the head of a leader who might or might not express the party's choice. The process was simple. The caucus without rules had not been a success; therefore we would try one with rules. Rules were drawn and we soon were experiencing a rule-regulated caucus. This system worked well or ill, just as the rules were fair or elastic, and if elastic, just as the political leaders enforcing them were broad or narrow. Rules, however, easily yielded to amendment, committees changed from year to year, and almost unconsciously we evolved from the *regulated* to the *regular* caucus.

THE REVOLT AGAINST BOSSISM.

The primary meeting thus became the real center of political activity. It was subject to elastic rules, changing almost from day to day. Politicians being but human, selfish purposes suggested selfish means, and regularity being the open sesame, regularity was regulated. At first the party organization was content with regulating the choice of the caucus officers; then it suggested all but prohibitive oaths as the basis of party membership; then the caucus suddenly betook itself to back alleys and up flights of stairs; and thus at last the party, so called, became small and select! The few who remained "regular" merely obeyed. The evolution had been accomplished. The caucus of leadership—silent, law-abiding, and deadly—named the candidates for whom the people must vote on the blanket ballot of election day. The picture may be extreme. That it is true to reality in many of our cities will not be denied. It is the logical outcome of a system of rule-regulated primaries. There is no brute force in such a system. The caucus is as peaceable as a prayer-meeting.

But what of the result? Political revolts have rapidly increased. The rank and file of the voters have been breaking away from their party

allegiance. Parties have been disintegrating. Recent municipal elections in our greatest cities evidenced a tendency to bolt the ticket from top to bottom. The wise ones among our political leaders have taken the lesson to heart. To them, rather than to the professional reformers, is due the widespread demand for a new kind of primary, regulated, it is true, but by law, not rules, and made effectual by penalties and punishments. At any rate, whatever the caucus or however insidious the disease, the day of the select few at primaries, like the day of brute force, is ending. The people will again choose their candidates. Parties may again fulfill their proper function, responsible and responsive leadership in public affairs.

II.—ITS EXPRESSION IN VARIOUS STATES.

Such are the conditions which have given birth to the present demand for primary reform. The disease was acute; the remedies applied have been extreme. A revolution in political methods will be the result. But that result is by no means yet assured. There are some indeed who sniff at what has been done and regret it all because, being called a reform, the sham, so to say, will but postpone the reality. But the record speaks for itself. The movement is not yet five years old. It has met with opposition in high places and in low. Yet ten important States now have statutes more or less complete controlling on the primaries, and as many more are considering and investigating the problem.

IN MINNESOTA AND WISCONSIN.

Few States have been or are entirely without statutory regulation of the primaries. These regulations have in most cases gone no further than provisions for sufficient public notice and a few simple rules fixing the duties of the caucus officers. The Southern States and those of the West, with the exception of California, have done little more than this. Thus much has been left to party regulations—with varying success. Other States have enacted the rules of the parties into statutes, and improved their primaries by surrounding them with the dignity of the law and the punishments of their penal codes. Minnesota is an instance. Her primary law, passed in 1895, is made up of the simplest of party rules, all details being left with the political organizations. Wisconsin in the same year enacted a similar law, which in 1897 had grown to be a very respectable primary statute. It is based on party rules and therefore leaves much to be regulated by political committees; but it provides for

an officially conducted primary in the booths, with blanket ballots, registry books, and official returns. Two of its provisions cannot be commended—i.e., that which makes the test of one's right to vote dependent on a written oath that "he voted for the regular candidates" of the party at the last election, and that which provides for a preliminary "parlor caucus" at which the delegates whose names are to be printed on the primary blanket ballot may be nominated. The Wisconsin law is compulsory on the large cities and optional elsewhere. It is a step, even if short, but yet a step forward.

IN OHIO AND MICHIGAN.

Ohio politics have of late become odorous. Yet Ohio was one of the earliest of the States to adopt a primary law. There Ohio stopped, and this in spite of agitation which resulted in a corrupt-practices act that is a model. The present law is complex and out of date. It gives extended options to political committees. At the same time the primaries in the large cities are under the control of the public election officers and marked by some of the customary regulations. Cleveland's primaries are controlled by party rules of recent construction, and the direct vote for candidates, as opposed to the convention plan of nomination, has there been given a fair trial. Michigan is another of the States where the work has been little more than half done. Her law, also enacted in 1895, is in two parts, one applicable to Detroit, the other to all other considerable cities. The public furnishes the booths, furniture, ballot-boxes, and the like, but the regulations touching the choice of the election officers, primary enrollment, and party allegiance are dangerously loose. Some admirable features are that the primaries shall be held on two fixed days in October, each of the large parties having a separate day, that the election precinct shall be the unit of representation, and that voting in conventions must be *viva voce*.

IN KENTUCKY.

Kentucky's primary law has been much quoted. It is a model in brevity. It, too, prescribes caucus supervision not unlike election supervision, providing even for a blanket ballot printed by the party organizations. Its penal provisions are severe. It permits the direct-vote method, and the Congressional nomination campaigns in Kentucky have often been of national interest. But the provision which has attracted most attention is Kentucky's novel means of making up party rolls by declarations of affiliation made by voters when they register prior to election day. The system is

open to abuses and many complaints are made—that it encourages the floater to enroll with the opposite party in order to make its nominations bad, and that its publicity prevents many of the employee class from participating in primaries. But on the whole this Kentucky system is the simplest, least burdensome, and most accurate method yet devised, whereby a party's rolls may be made up and "padding" and "erasing" prevented.

IN MISSOURI.

Missouri's law applies only to the primaries in St. Louis and Kansas City, but is notable because enacted as early as 1891. The caucus is officially regulated and blanket ballots are supplied at public expense. The law is silent as to enrollment and the qualifications of the party voter. It assesses candidates to pay for printing the ballots. As few as twenty voters in a ward may name a candidate for printing on the ballot, and the election officers must be chosen by the public officials from lists furnished by the candidates. Kansas City selects most of its candidates directly; St. Louis by delegates to conventions. The law has had a fair trial and is a success.

But of the laws which preceded the recent New York statute the most notable and progressive are those of Massachusetts, California, and Illinois. The former has been on trial three years; the latter was enacted early in the present year and has already been successfully tried in Chicago; while the law of California, the most advanced of the three, has been in force but a year.

IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Massachusetts caucus law is in two parts, one compulsory on Boston, the other on other localities. It took form from the Republican rules in force in Boston five years ago, was originally enacted in 1894 after a legislative investigation, and was reenacted in its present form in 1895. By it party committees and, to a lesser degree, political conventions are regulated by positive law, and most of the restrictions familiar at general elections apply to the primaries. Party organizations call the conventions and caucuses and certify the names of proposed delegates to the public authorities. Beyond this the machinery of the caucus is in the hands of the election commissioners. Until 1897 political committees fixed the test of party allegiance. In that year this was made dependent on the elector's willingness, if challenged, to swear that he intends to support the candidates of the party at the next election, and has not taken part in the primaries of any other party for a year, the first statutory recognition of intention rather than past fealty as the true test. As few as five electors in a ward in

Boston may nominate a delegation for printing on the ballot. These delegates may be voted for as a body or separately, and may be pledged to or against a candidate or principle by printing above their names a few words indicative of such pledge. But Massachusetts has no enrollment system, its primaries are movable feasts, and the caucus officers are chosen at the caucuses. Great success has thus far marked the operation of the law. Barring the newer statutes of California and New York, it is easily the best of the State laws yet passed, and in some features is even their superior.

IN CALIFORNIA.

The Stratton law of California has for its object "the promotion of the purity of primary elections by regulating the conduct thereof." Like the Massachusetts statute, it supervises the machinery of nominations from the beginning to the end. It does not provide for a party enrollment, but prescribes the use of the election registers and makes intention to support a party's candidate the test of party allegiance. The law is remarkable for two new devices: one in the interest of a large attendance at primaries, the other that the expense of these preliminary elections may be kept within bounds. California compels all parties to hold their primaries on the same day and together, thus constituting another election day. It is to be regretted that this day may be changed from year to year and need not be the same day even in adjoining counties. Any person may furnish caucus ballots, but they must be of the color and size prescribed by the election commissioners. California thus attains substantial secrecy without the complicated machinery and great expense of blanket primary ballots; while this far Western pioneer in the movement chooses election judges after the manner of juries and compels them, as a duty incident to their citizenship, to serve without pay. These experiments will be watched with great interest. The law in its entirety promises more for better primaries than any statute other than the new law of New York.

THE CHICAGO EXPERIMENT.

The primary elections of Chicago have been as bad and unreliable as those of New York. Yet Chicago in March, 1898, experienced a new kind of caucus, the result of the Illinois primary law of 1898. The sponsors of this law do not claim that it equals those of Massachusetts and California, but maintain that it guarantees to Chicago at least a legally conducted primary, paid for at public expense and with some of the restrictions and safeguards of election day. There is no statutory declaration of the party test, no

provision for enrollment, no regular primary day, no blanket ballot, and but the loosest provisions for a "uniform" ballot. But the penal provisions are numerous and drastic, the judges and clerks are public officers, the primary districts can have only a limited number of voters, and the general election law is declared applicable to primary elections. The ballots used at the first primary held under the law were pledging ballots. The percentage of voters who participated in that primary showed a marked increase over the past. There was quiet and peace where before had been mob tactics and bloodshed. The success of the law thus far augurs well for an Illinois law that may come next year or the next, and through which the voters of that State may have all the protection provided in Massachusetts, California, and now at last in New York.

A SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The condition of the movement prior to the recent action of the New York Legislature may therefore be summed up as follows:

All of the primary election laws prescribe—

1. Sufficient public notice.
2. Voting by ballot.
3. Sworn officers, chosen either at the primaries or by the party or public authorities.
4. That the expense of primary elections be borne by the public or, in rare instances, by the candidates.
5. That the voter be protected against familiar frauds and the wrong-doer at the caucus suffer severe penalties.
6. That parties, while necessarily a part of the machinery of elections, must be supreme in the management of their internal affairs.
- 7 That these requirements should be compulsory only on the larger cities and optional elsewhere.

The later statutes go much further and provide penalties and machinery with a particularity which, while revealing the malignancy of the disease, prophesies the healthful result to come. These recent statutes are more or less specific in the following matters:

1. The methods for securing a fair and full enrollment of a party's voters prior to its primaries.
2. The proper test by which to determine who is a member of a party.
3. The establishment of a preliminary election day or days for primary purposes.
4. The use of a secret primary ballot of the "blanket" or "uniform" variety.
5. The nomination of candidates by direct vote, or, if through conventions, by delegates chosen by a pledging ballot at the primary.
6. The regulation of the convention, in particular, by provisions against proxy and secret voting and by proper restrictions against interference with the temporary organization.

The most vital of these are the party test and the methods of enrollment. The former was left

to rules until within little more than a twelve-month. The test, quite naturally perhaps, had yearly become more and more prohibitive. The tendency now is to fix it by statute and, what is more important, to base it on future intention, not past acts.

Prior to the present year none of the States except Kentucky went further than to provide the use of the election registers or voting lists as caucus registers, leaving the voter, if challenged, to the mercy of an inquisitorial election judge, or compelling him to go to a public political confessional before entitling himself to a vote at his party's caucus. Viewed in the light of the modern city primary, without the protection of non-elastic law in these two particulars, the rights of the party voter are never safe.

The most serious indictment of our primary system is that so few voters attend, and usually those only of the obedient kind. The establishment of a regular day or days for primary meetings is therefore a far step forward. All the later statutes provide for such a day; but aside from New York none fixes the day save Michigan, and that State has two days, not one.

The analogy of the blanket ballot now universal on election day led many States to incorporate the idea into their primary laws, to the weakening of their efficiency and the increase of their burden upon the public treasury. What is wanted is a secret ballot. The blanket primary ballot has well been said to increase the dangers masked in the threatening behest, "Be regular," the last stand, and an effective one, of a discredited political machine. Thus the trend of the movement seems to be away from the blanket ballot and toward a ballot like that originated in California. It permits vest-pocket voting, which is usually independent; it makes it easier to tip over an unsatisfactory organization; it can be made absolutely secret.

Of the merits of the direct vote there is the widest divergence of opinion. In large cities, with from twenty to one hundred candidates to be considered at the caucuses, much confusion, to say nothing of nominations by very small minorities, might result. Except in political divisions where the interest could be centered on one office, nomination by convention has nowhere been abolished with complete success. Some of the State laws tacitly permit direct voting. None of the more modern, such as those of California and Illinois, even do that; while New York's new law merely allows a community to try it. Warm advocates of primary reform hesitate to give up the convention. But they are unwilling to trust delegates who are appointed, not nominated, or conventions which

are dictated from outside or are not masters of their own affairs. Hence the devices to make the primary fair, large, and representative. Hence the pledging ballot, on the face of which the man or organization to be supported is plainly indicated. Hence, too, the increasing restrictions on the organization of political conventions and voting thereat. Once let the caucus be officially regulated, perfectly fair and largely attended, and the convention organized by its delegates and not from headquarters, and with its members selected by pledging ballots and compelled to vote *viva voce* and in person, the agitation for the abolition of the convention and for direct nominations by the people will disappear.

III.—THE NEW YORK PRIMARY LAW.

This, then, was the condition of the movement at the beginning of the recent remarkable campaign for reformed primaries in the Empire State. That campaign merits an article by itself; but briefly described it and its results are as follows:

The New York election code was enacted in 1892. It has five short sections devoted to primaries and conventions. Its provisions might be of some value in a rural community, but as a system for a State characterized by immense aggregations of population and for the past half century the storm-center of political corruption, these provisions could as well have been blank paper. The sudden awakening and the somewhat remarkable result are, however, not to be wondered at. For some time the mutterings of the storm have been heard. The tendency has been to make regularity more difficult and the caucus more select. In some places the primary became not only select, but secreted. The old-time outcry against taxation without representation, in a modified form, was again heard, and the wiser of the political leaders made their rules more liberal. Others did not, and, not satisfied with a select and semi-secret caucus, seized upon conventions by unseating majorities, and, backed by an unanimity thus won, hoisted the banner of regularity and went on—to certain defeat. The majority party lost or suffered losses in every important city in 1897; in New York and Albany as the result of independent nomination, and in Buffalo, to a certain extent at least, by reason of a noisy protest against alleged arbitrary action in making up the caucus registry lists.

Chastened by this crushing defeat, largely traceable to dissatisfaction with the caucus rules, the Republican party set to work at the cause. It controlled the Legislature and the governor was of its faith. Its problem was made the easier by a small majority in the lower house and the

presence therein of a few men selected as independents, but who were Republicans in principle and at heart. Besides, when the legislative session began it had before it the result of investigations made by committees from the Buffalo Republican League and kindred political organizations. It had, too, the knowledge that Governor Black was in favor of and determined to have a primary law which would lift the political caucuses of New York to the level of the other populous States and tend toward a unification of the Republican party. The situation was somewhat novel, but as promising as novel.

IN THE LEGISLATURE.

On the first days of the session two primary bills were introduced; one by Senator Pavey, of New York, which was a redraft of a bill introduced by him the year before and smothered by the then dominant political forces; it provided for the Kentucky system of enrollment by declaration of political affiliation at the time of the annual registration of voters; the other by Senator Brush, of Brooklyn, which provided some important but incomplete changes in the then existing law. These bills were quickly supplemented by that of Assemblyman Hill, of Buffalo—probably the most comprehensive bill of its kind ever presented—and a little later by Senator Ford's bill, which was taken to express what the Republican organization of New York City was willing to concede to the bolting wing of its party.

These four bills were quickly followed by others, more or less complete, and the question of primary reform soon became the most important before the Legislature. The Hill bill really included the Pavey and Brush bills, and the lines were soon drawn between that bill and the measure introduced by Senator Ford. In the controversy which resulted, a controversy remarkable for conferences seemingly limitless in number and of almost unlimited duration, the principles behind the Hill bill and many of the details suggested by it continually won support, and in the end were given expression in the bill which became a law late in March. The original form of the bill—an amendment to the election law—gave place to the form of a separate statute; the blanket ballot provisions were dropped out, and wisely; the combination of the three duties, enrollment for primaries, voting at primaries, and registering for election, all on one day, was eliminated; the meeting of the parties together on primary day was revised out in one of the later conferences, and the bill was made optional on all cities and villages of over five thousand and under fifty thousand, instead of compulsory on all; but aside from this the law in its essentials is the Hill

bill, a bill which was drafted after a study of all of the statutes on the subject and was intended to include the best that was in each of them. Whatever the result in actual practice, the law as it stands does credit to Governor Black, Senators Lexow and Pavey, Assemblyman Hill, and Elihu Root and Paul D. Cravath, of the Union League Club's special committee, not to mention the scores of other individuals whose time and talents were given without stint. The New York Primary Election law was framed and passed in less than three months; in the end there was not a vote against it. It is at present the broadest and most complete law regulating primary elections, political committees, and conventions.

PRINCIPLES OF THE MEASURE.

This latest enactment provides, of course, for the officially regulated primary now growing familiar—in truth establishes a preliminary election surrounded by the formalities and penalties of the modern election laws. But it goes much further than any State has gone in a number of particulars. The party test is modeled after that of Massachusetts and depends on future intention, but it expressly exempts municipal elections, and is the first statutory recognition that a voter may vote as he pleases for city officers and yet be a party man. The enrollment provisions, though based on the Kentucky plan, are far more elaborate; and the dangers of that plan are minimized by providing in substance that the enrollment for one year shall be made up the year before (with opportunities for reënrollment after change of residence) and shall be secret until after the approaching election day. The ballot is of the California variety, but the provisions concerning it and the methods of its preparation and voting are all in the direction of making it both easy to get and absolutely secret when cast. Perhaps the most notable provision is that which establishes an annual primary day for all parties in the regular election polling places and before the regular election officers, the seventh Tuesday before election thus becoming a fixed primary election day, with, it need not be claimed, all that that means in getting out a full expression of a party's voters. To be sure, the different parties vote in separate booths and before election officers representing their own party only, but that there will be a fixed primary day for all parties is the important, far-reaching fact. The basis of representation in conventions is dependent on the last vote for governor, while a similar rule makes party committees more representative, and in cities of the first class at least those committees must be chosen at the primaries and not in the hurly-burly of conventions. The conventions themselves are

regulated by positive provisions, such as official rolls made up by public officers, the temporary organization entirely in the hands of the convention itself and not regulated from headquarters, voting for officers to be *viva voce*, and a record of proceedings to be kept and filed as a public document.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE WORK.

The New York law, however, is not perfect. It has been criticised because compulsory only on large cities and silent entirely as to primaries in communities having less than five thousand inhabitants. Its enrollment system is complex and open to possible frauds, but will probably be simplified by later Legislatures. Its June primary day in years of State elections is unnecessary and should be stricken out. Trouble may come from election officers who are in effect named by the political committees, though the success of the same method in choosing the officers at regular elections prophesies the opposite result. In its entirety, however, the law cannot be too highly commended. Only a fair trial will prove its value or reveal its defects. The fact remains that, judged by the standard of other primary laws, New York in the short space of three months has in this matter progressed from barbarism to civilization.

This, then, is the status of the movement as the National Primary Election League comes on the scene. The first conference of that body, held in New York late in January, did much to crystallize the then growing sentiment in the Empire State. It did so because those in charge of that conference did not make the mistake of allowing the expression of theories only. They recognized that the honest practical politician—of whom there are not a few—is as deeply interested in better primaries as is the theorist. Thus guided, the new Primary League can do much to

popularize the primary meeting, and, by favoring non-elastic laws to protect the voter at the caucus and by inspiring him with confidence in its real value, may in the end modify the meaning of that much-abused word, politics.

The movement is yet in its beginnings. It is as far-reaching as civil-service reform and goes more to the root of things than ballot reform. So long as we use the official blanket ballot at elections, the primary meeting must continue the more important function of the two. There are, indeed, those who say that officially regulated caucuses will but strengthen the machines. No! not the machines, but the parties. Therein lies the value, the necessity of the movement. The plain truth is that the patience of voters has been so exhausted by a deficient nomination system that, within State lines at least, parties have been disintegrating. Carried to its ultimate this tendency might lead not only to confusion, but even to national disruption. Parties have been and should be the responsible agents of our people. Republics like ours cannot long have more than two parties, for the governing party ought always to be representative of a large proportion, if not of an actual majority, of our people. Every step toward primaries that shall be free to all and fair to all must, therefore, be in the right direction. Let the law step in, as it has done in Massachusetts, California, Illinois, and New York, and our system will be safe; for party organizations will then be responsible to the people, party nominations will be made by the people, not the leaders, and political leadership will be liberal and statesmanlike.

Otherwise, after the wreck of political organizations and the dethronement of the bosses may come that chaos of irresponsibility and individualism which would surely remove the balance-wheel of this Government of ours.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE ISOLATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for May begins with a reprint of the address by the Hon. Richard Olney delivered at Harvard College last March on the "International Isolation of the United States." Mr. Olney rehearses Washington's rule that the United States should stand aloof from European politics and quarrels and avoid alliances that might connect it with them. The very statement of this rule, thinks Mr. Olney, shows that the considerations justifying it to Washington can no longer be urged in support of it. "Time has been gained—our institutions are proven to have a stability and to work with a success exceeding all expectation—and though the nation is still young, it has long since ceased to be feeble or to lack the power to command its own fortunes." This change since Washington's time evidently appears to Mr. Olney to justify a disregard in the future of the "rule." He thinks it possible to regard the isolation rule as having outlived its usefulness, without exposing ourselves to any serious hazards.

"There is such a thing for a nation as a 'splendid isolation'—as when for a worthy cause, for its own independence, or dignity, or vital interests it unshrinkingly opposes itself to a hostile world. But isolation that is nothing but a shirking of the responsibilities of high place and great power is simply ignominious. If we shall sooner or later—and we certainly shall—shake off the spell of the Washington legend and cease to act the rôle of a sort of international recluse, it will not follow that formal alliances with other nations for permanent or even temporary purposes will soon or often be found expedient. On the other hand, with which of them we shall as a rule practically coöperate cannot be doubtful. From the point of view of our material interests alone, our best friend as well as most formidable foe is that world-wide empire whose navies rule the seas and which on our northern frontier controls a dominion itself imperial in extent and capabilities."

"There is a patriotism of race as well as of country—and the Anglo-American is as little likely to be indifferent to the one as to the other. Family quarrels there have been heretofore and doubtless will be again, and the two peoples, at the safe distance which the broad Atlantic interposes, take with each other liberties of speech which only the fondest and dearest relatives indulge in."

SHOULD WE INCREASE THE ARMY?

"REASONS for Increasing the Regular Army" are set forth by Lieut. George B. Duncan, U. S. A., in the April number of the *North American Review*.

After considering the arguments formerly advanced against the maintenance of standing armies, the changed conditions under which the United States is taking its place as one of the great world powers of to-day, and the resulting importance of systematic national defense, Lieutenant Duncan proceeds to note the cost and strength of the armies now maintained by other nations.

The largest army in the world at the present time is maintained by Russia, at an annual expenditure of \$213,000,000. In time of peace this army numbers 910,000 officers and men, while 3,077,000 men are immediately available for any emergency, and the full fighting strength of the country is estimated at 13,000,000 men. Germany comes next with an army of 584,734 men ready for war at any moment. This force can be promptly increased to 3,700,000, and under the new law the empire has a prospective strength for national defense of 7,697,356, of whom 4,297,856 are trained soldiers.

"France expends \$123,000,000 annually to keep 524,768 officers and men in training, ready to be augmented to a total of 2,930,000 for defense. England and India keep up a regular establishment of 366,000 men and 865,000 reserves and militia, and these forces can be doubled for war. Spain maintains an army of 95,000, nearly four times larger than our own, with an available war strength of 1,334,000 men. Italy has a peace army of 222,275 and a prospective force for war of 3,397,000. Even Belgium has a force of 43,359, and Holland one of 21,500.

"Now a glance at the American side of the same subject. Mexico, with a population of 11,633,000, keeps up a regular army of 35,000; Colombia, with 4,600,000 people, an army of 5,000; Brazil an army of about 24,000 in a population of 18,000,000; Chili an army of 25,600, with a population of 3,500,000. The Argentine Republic, with a population of 4,750,000, maintains 15,000 regular troops. The United States, with 70,000,000 and growing every day, keeps in training about 25,000 men, with an antiquated organization, while to the north lives a population of 5,000,000 people ready to do and die for England. In naval ability suffice it to say that

the combined navies of Mexico and South America would not be a barrier to England's West Indian squadron alone."

If the Monroe doctrine is to have force, we are to take into consideration the possibility of being called on to defend weaker American states from European intervention. Without the intervention of the United States, Lieutenant Duncan is of the opinion that not another government on this hemisphere could live in the face of a determined foe from Europe. Keeping such contingencies in mind, it seems plain that our dependence on the militia of the States has been carried too far.

MODERN SOLDIERING.

"It must be borne in mind that there is no subject in which greater scientific progress has been made during the past thirty years than in the appliances and appurtenances of war. The non-professional reader will grasp this fact more readily by reference to the familiar circumstance of the cost and length of time required to build and equip one of our modern warships as compared with the wooden frigates of the line then in vogue. There has been quite as much change and improvement in the armament of troops for battle, and a very much greater need of discipline and preliminary training and drill to make them effective in action. Indeed, there is no comparison between these latter requirements as they exist to-day and what was formerly necessary, and it is this fact which it is so difficult to impress upon the average citizen. The old soldier who advanced to the attack in what he called a rain of bullets would now be greeted with a deluge. The mass of metal thrown from two contending lines of battle will be terrific. The skirmish preceding battle will commence at incredible distances. In the full tide of conflict, squads, sections, companies, and even battalions may in a moment be swept into eternity. In the face of such conditions, common sense would say that victory will reward that command which uses its weapons most skillfully, which husbands its ammunition and throws its leaden hail with accuracy, and at the command of its leaders moving ever onward to the attack, forgetting personal danger in its confidence in the wisdom of its commanders, and in final victory. Do we realize the never-ending drill, the discipline, the unceasing vigilance of instruction, the unquestioning obedience, the target practice, the field exercises absolutely necessary, all to bring the soldier to his most efficient state, or, if you please, to convert the individual into as much of a machine as possible? Such essential qualities can come only from the regular training of daily life; and so

the question naturally arises, Does the militia fulfill these conditions?"

STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF THE MILITIA.

The organized militia in the whole country numbers about 112,000 officers and men, and the unorganized portion of the total male population subject to military duty in emergency about 9,000,000. Lieutenant Duncan estimates that forty-nine men out of every fifty, the country through, are "ignorant of even the rudiments of military instruction."

The men in the militia organizations of the States enlist for recreation, pleasure, and the physical advantages of military drill, not for fighting. Lieutenant Duncan declares that to pit such men against experienced regular troops whose whole life has been given to preparation for battle would be almost murderous. The victory in future battles, he says, must be with the force having the best-controlled and most accurate fire action. Without fire discipline mere members avail nothing.

"There is no question of the patriotism of our people and of the fact that in time of national danger hundreds of thousands would willingly throw their lives into the breach in defense of our institutions, and that in the end fidelity and valor would remain supreme, and that the country would rebound from any conflict more vigorous from the healthful blood-letting of war. But while the country might rise supreme from its very ashes, there would be no resurrection of the lives which had paid the forfeit of war; there could be no return to the fireside of the fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons left upon the battlefield. Upon individuals thus left to mourn does the anguish of war fall hardest. The question simply is whether it is the part of good government to demand from our citizens such a sacrifice, such a needless slaughter as would now pay the price of war, or by a proper preparation in peace to reduce such possibilities to a minimum."

FINANCIERING FOR WAR.

THE April number of the *Bankers' Magazine* considers the problem of meeting war expenditures with the least possible disturbance of existing contracts—in other words, maintaining specie payments. The editor shows that all the most important wars carried on by the United States have been financed on a paper-money basis and have been followed by periods of depression and monetary demoralization. The Continental currency of the Revolution, as is well known, became at times almost destitute of purchasing power, and a large part of it was never redeemed.

In the War of 1812 the State banks suspended specie payments and the national Government was obliged to sell its securities for the depreciated notes of those banks. Prices were increased three and four fold. The Mexican War put no such strain on the country's resources, and specie payments were not suspended.

"The civil war was commenced on a specie basis, and had it not been for two serious mistakes made by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1861, it was and is the opinion of many competent authorities that specie payments need not have been suspended. It has been estimated on grounds that appear sound that the suspension of specie payments in 1861 and the ensuing necessity of the legal-tender acts increased the necessary expense of the war by at least one-third. The business of the country in 1861 presented many features very similar to those that exist to-day. Speaking of the early period the late George S. Coe, in a letter dated October, 1875, to the Hon. E. G. Spaulding, said:

"'Fortunately the commercial conditions of the Northern States were altogether favorable. The panic of 1857 had been followed by three or four years of great productiveness and economy, which had so turned international exchanges in favor of this country that larger balances in coin than ever before had, during 1860 and 1861, been imported from Europe.'

ACTION OF THE BANKS IN 1861.

"The banks in New York City held \$50,000,000 in coin, which was equal to about 50 per cent. of their liabilities. Of the present time it may be said in almost the same language that the commercial conditions of the whole country are now altogether favorable. The panic of 1893 has been followed by four or five years of great productiveness and economy, which has turned international exchanges in favor of this country so that large balances in coin are now being imported from Europe. The New York City banks hold \$136,000,000 in specie and show large surplus reserves; and this sum in coin is supplemented by over \$170,000,000 in gold in the Treasury.

"In 1861, after the disastrous battle of Bull Run, a combination of the banks in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia agreed to take \$150,000,000 of 7.3 notes and furnish the Government \$150,000,000 of specie in installments of \$50,000,000. It was hoped that a general combination of all the banks in the Northern States could be effected, but there was so little unity among the banks of that period that this plan proved futile, and the banks of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia had to stand alone. The three in-

stallments of specie were furnished to the Government between August 7 and December 7, 1861. On August 7 the specie in the New York banks was \$49,733,990, and on December 7, after the three installments of \$50,000,000 each had been furnished, there was still \$42,318,610 in specie in the vaults of these banks. The disbursements of the Government were so rapid, the internal trade movement so intense, that the coin paid out in installments of \$5,000,000 every six days came back to the banks through the community in about one week. In the meantime the banks were disposing of the 7.3 notes among the people, and there is every reason to believe that the banks could in this manner have furnished the Government with \$50,000,000 in specie every sixty days for an indefinite period, sufficient with the use of the bank circulation to have met all expenses at prices on a specie basis. This promising outlook was dimmed and finally totally obscured by the issue of demand notes. The issue of these notes convinced the public that the war was to be fought on a paper basis, and all who could get hold of specie began to hoard it. The banks lost \$13,000,000 of specie in three weeks, and as the drain was increasing they were obliged to suspend specie payments.

THE GOVERNMENT'S MISTAKES.

"It must be noticed that the specie furnished by the banks was not drawn upon in the usual way by checks, but was actually taken from the vaults of the banks and deposited in the sub-Treasury. This was the other mistake of Secretary Chase. If he had consented to act under the suspension of the sub-Treasury act which had been agreed to by Congress, and treated the banks as depositories and drawn checks on them, these checks backed by the specie in the banks would have served as a circulating medium constantly issued and redeemed, and the specie itself would have remained untouched in the banks, while the loans to the Government could have been increased by degrees to any amount demanded. These two mistakes, the refusal to use banking machinery to economize the use of specie and the issue of demand Treasury notes, precipitated the suspension of specie payments and so damaged the Government's credit, as well as that of the banks, as to create the necessity which was the plea on which Congress issued the legal-tender notes of 1862."

ENORMOUS EXPENSES.

On a depreciated paper basis the expense of the civil war at times reached \$3,000,000 a day, and the expense of the apprehended war with Spain may exceed even those figures. If bond

issues should become necessary, the *Bankers' Magazine* assures us that the banks of the whole country would come to the aid of the Government. It suggests that the credits furnished by the banks in return for bonds should be drawn upon by checks which would furnish a currency issued as needed and redeemed at once through the clearing-house machinery of the country.

HARBOR OBSTRUCTIONS AND SUBMARINE MINES.

IN the *Green Bag* for April Mr. John H. Ford reviews the diplomatic relations of the United States so far as they throw light on the question of the right of Spain to protect Havana harbor by the use of explosives and by other means to blockade the port.

As to the right of blockade and the binding of neutral powers to respect it, the law seems to be settled; but as to the right of a government to protect its harbors by the use of submarine explosives, the question is still an open one so far as regards the adoption of rules by the powers to regulate it. The United States Government holds that it cannot be done recklessly and without notice.

FORMER PROTESTS OF THIS GOVERNMENT.

"Mr. Evarts, on January 25, 1881, wrote to our minister to Peru: 'I regret that a report which has been communicated to the Department obliges me to request that you will make a strong representation in the premises to the Peruvian Government should you find on inquiry that the report is well founded. The report is that the Peruvians have made use during the present war with Chili of boats containing explosive materials, which have been left adrift on the chance of their being fallen in with by some of the Chilean blockading squadron. It is sufficiently obvious that this practice must be fraught with danger to neutral vessels entitled to protection under the law of nations, and that in case American vessels are injured, this Government can do no less than hold the government of Peru responsible for any damage which may be thus occasioned. That in case it is ascertained that means and ways so dangerous to neutrals as those adverted to have been for any reasons suffered to be adopted by her forces or any part of them, they should be at once checked, not only for the benefit of Peru, but in the interest of a wise and chivalrous warfare, which should constantly afford to neutral powers the highest possible consideration.'

"Again, in 1884, the Hon. John Russell Young,

as minister to China, was confronted with the threat that China would place obstructions in the water approaches to Canton because of a contemplated war with France. Corresponding with Mr. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State, as to his duties in the premises to protect American commerce, Mr. Young said, in speaking of the subject, that 'China relied upon the treaty of 1858 on her right to do so,' but further said: 'Since 1858 the methods of offensive and defensive warfare have been revolutionized. The United States, during the rebellion, saw fit to obstruct the channels of Charleston harbor by sinking ships laden with stone to secure an effective blockade. Germany, during her latest war with France, protected her Baltic ports with torpedoes. I should have felt some embarrassment in seeking to persuade the Yamen that what Germany and the United States regarded as honorable warfare could not be permitted to China.'

"To this letter Mr. Frelinghuysen sent a reply on April 18, 1884, in which he said that 'it could only be tolerated as a temporary measure, to be removed as soon as the special occasion therefor shall have passed.'

"But the whole question was more thoroughly reviewed by Mr. Bayard in 1886, in a letter to Minister Denby in relation to the removal of obstructions from the same river in which he called attention to the above correspondence, and said that 'when war ceases, obstructions impeding navigation must be removed by the territorial authorities.'

WHAT DETERMINES THE NECESSITY?

"This was done when the Dutch attacked Spain in the time of Philip II., and by England in the time of Charles II. when blockaded by the Dutch; by this country during the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the late civil war; by Russia at the siege of Sebastopol and by Germany as above; but when there is no necessity—that is, when the opposing power has no navy—it is a question whether under the law of nations it can be done.

"The placing of torpedoes in the Danube by the Turks in 1877 caused a letter to be sent by Mr. Evarts to the Russian chancellor, Mr. Shishkin, in which he said, speaking of this method of warfare: 'The employment of torpedoes is so recent a belligerent device that it is believed the powers as yet have had no opportunity to consider the general regulations, if any, to which they should be subjected,' and that is exactly the status of affairs to govern the *Maine* case, provided she was destroyed by a Spanish mine in the harbor through no overt act of that government or an accidental discharge of the mine."

BRITISH-BUILT SHIPS FOR FOREIGN NAVIES.

A VERY interesting paper in the *Nineteenth Century* for April is that written by Mr. Archibald S. Hurd, entitled "British Ships in Foreign Navies." Mr. Hurd is uneasy concerning the extent to which British shipbuilders have executed orders from foreign governments who ordered ships of war. Curiously enough, his article comes immediately after Sir William White's paper, which concludes with the recognition that the chief source of the strength of England's naval power is the great reserve of productive capacity in private shipyards, which are kept going by other business than that which is supplied by orders from the Admiralty.

Following is a list of the ships of war constructed in Great Britain for foreign governments :

Argentine Republic: 2 battleships, 3 coast-defense ironclads, 3 cruisers, 2 gun-vessels, 2 torpedo gun-vessels, 5 gunboats, 3 destroyers, 22 torpedo-boats—30,053 tons.

Austria-Hungary: 2 torpedo cruisers, 1 torpedo gun-vessel, 3 first-class and 26 second-class torpedo-boats—4,912 tons.

Brazil: 2 battleships, 2 coast-defense ironclads, 2 protected cruisers, 2 torpedo gun-vessels, 14 torpedo-boats—19,465 tons.

Chili: 2 battleships, 1 armored cruiser, 3 protected cruisers, 1 gunboat, 3 torpedo gunboats, 4 destroyers, 18 torpedo-boats—33,965 tons.

China: 2 protected cruisers, 5 gunboats—10,620 tons.

Denmark: 1 cruiser, 18 torpedo-boats—1,284 tons.

Germany: 3 armored cruisers, 1 torpedo gun-vessel, 5 torpedo-boats—26,271 tons.

Greece: 1 battleship, 3 cruisers, 11 gunboats, 8 torpedo-boats—9,906 tons.

Haiti: 1 gun-vessel—950 tons.

Holland: 1 battleship, 4 coast-defense ironclads, 3 gun-vessels, 3 gunboats, 10 torpedo-boats—13,096 tons.

Italy: 1 battleship, 3 cruisers, 40 torpedo-boats—13,000 tons.

Japan: 4 battleships, 4 armored cruisers, 7 protected cruisers, 1 cruiser, 1 torpedo gun-vessel, 5 destroyers, 8 gunboats—97,505 tons.

Liberia: 1 gunboat—150 tons.

Mexico: 2 gunboats—850 tons.

Norway: 2 coast-defense ironclads, 1 torpedo gun-vessel—6,840 tons.

Peru: 1 cruiser—420 tons.

Portugal: 1 battleship, 6 cruisers, 12 gunboats, 3 river gunboats, 6 torpedo-boats—21,016 tons.

Roumania: 1 cruiser, 1 gunboat, 2 torpedo-boats, 6 coast-guard vessels—2,275 tons.

Russia: 1 coast-defense ironclad, 2 gunboats, 1 destroyer, 3 torpedo-boats—4,600 tons.

San Domingo: 3 gun-vessels—1,800 tons.

Siam: 1 cruiser, 1 gunboat—2,778 tons.

Spain: 2 battleships, 5 protected cruisers, 2 unprotected cruisers, 1 torpedo gun-vessel, 4 torpedo-boat destroyers, 9 torpedo-boats, 22 gunboats—31,621 tons.

Sweden: 3 torpedo-boats—110 tons.

Turkey: 8 battleships, 3 cruisers, 3 torpedo boats, 3 gun-vessels—46,328 tons.

"This is a very bald statement in detail of the significant fact that British shipbuilding yards have constructed for foreign navies warships with an aggregate displacement of 377,815 tons, equal to about one-fourth of the whole British navy."

POWERFUL CRUISERS AND BATTLESHIPS.

Strange as it may seem, some of these ships built for foreign navies are more powerful than any owned by England herself :

"The boast cannot be controverted that the British navy has no vessel to equal, size for size, these British-built cruisers of the Argentine, Chinese, and Chilian navies ; they are superior in speed, in protection, in armament, and even in coal capacity."

The following statement as to the ships now building in British yards for foreign powers shows that the probability of any of these vessels being employed against the British fleet is extraordinarily small :

"For Japan alone 8 battleships and cruisers and 8 torpedo-boat destroyers are being built. There is also a coast-defense ship for Norway, besides 2 cruisers each for China and Chili and 1 cruiser each for Portugal and Brazil, while 4 torpedo-boats for Austria are approaching completion, and the German navy will shortly be stronger by the addition of a British-built swift and deadly torpedo-boat destroyer."

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF LORD SALISBURY.

LORD SALISBURY'S foreign policy is made a point of special attack by anonymous writers in the *Contemporary* and *Fortnightly* for April.

In the *Fortnightly* Lord Salisbury's shortcomings are reckoned up by "Diplomaticus," a writer whose *nom de guerre* is more familiar than his personality. "Diplomaticus" is a pessimist of the pessimists, and his reckoning up of Lord Salisbury's foreign policy lacks nothing in the way of emphasis.

After quoting the glowing assurances in which Mr. Chamberlain indulged after the formation of the present British ministry, "Diplomaticus" says:

"The only comment I need make on this claim is to tabulate the problems of 1895, which involved questions of markets and cessions of territory, and to set against them the solutions obtained by British diplomacy :

"1. Siam : Great sphere of influence created for France, including the valuable provinces of Battambang and Angkor. Cession to France, without consideration, of the British trans-

Mekong portion of Keng Cheng. Guarantee of territorial integrity of and 'equality of opportunity' for traders in Central Siam.

"2. Madagascar: Island annexed by the French and market closed. British protest disregarded.

"3. Tunis: Commercial treaty surrendered and eventual closing of market acquiesced in. No compensation.

"4. Upper Nile: Cession to Abyssinia of a large slice of Southern Somaliland. Apparently the only consideration a most-favored-nation clause, and a declaration that the Emperor Menelik regards the Mahdists as 'the enemies of his empire.' Nothing done to stop the French from 'effectively occupying' our sphere of influence on the Upper Nile, and their invasions officially ignored.

"5. China: Kaio-Chau seized by Germany and exclusive privileges acquired by her in Shantung. Exclusive privileges acquired by Russia in Manchuria. Germany declines to pledge herself that Kaio-Chau shall always remain an open port. China has agreed to open rivers to trade and a treaty port in Hunan, and has promised not to cede the Yang-tse valley to any foreign power.

"6. West Africa: France has occupied, in defiance of treaties, the whole of the hinterland of Lagos and a part of the hinterland of the Gold Coast, and threatens to exclude our trade. In face of this aggression we are negotiating.

RESULTS SUMMED UP.

"In brief, instead of expanding the empire we have ceded indisputably British territory to France and Abyssinia; instead of 'defending our own possessions and claims,' we have allowed the French to invade and occupy immense regions which we had proclaimed as British; instead of 'preventing old markets from being closed,' we have given up the Tunis market, lost the Madagascar market, consented to the earmarking of a large portion of Eastern Siam by France, and stood idly by while Germany and Russia have created spheres of influence in Shantung and Manchuria. Against this the government have to set a valueless promise from China not to alienate the Yang-tse valley, the prospective opening of a treaty port in Hunan, the opening of the inland waters of China to trade—the only really valuable gain that has been obtained—the rescue of Central Siam from the range of French ambition, and the concession of most-favored-nation treatment by Abyssinia. Is it surprising that there should be popular discontent when this record is compared with the glowing promises made by ministers?"

Another Criticism.

The author of the article on "The Failure of Our Foreign Policy" in the *Contemporary* wields a much more effective pen than "Diplomaticus," and is quite as bitter. He can see no good in anything that Lord Salisbury has done. To his gloomy and despondent vision the future holds out no hope for an empire which can allow its chances to be fooled away so recklessly.

Nothing would satisfy this writer but the summary removal of the administration from power. He says:

"Lord Salisbury accomplished his mission when he saved Ireland from home rule or separation. The present problem is how to save the empire from dismemberment. In this Lord Salisbury's cabinet has dismally failed. Hence the choice now lies between the maintenance of his government in power and the defense of our imperial interests."

AN ANTI-BRITISH LEAGUE.

"The present imperial crisis is the upshot of a carefully thought-out plan which France and Russia are resolved to carry out in partnership. The two are industriously working together wherever Great Britain has political or commercial interests to safeguard or to lose. They both agree in tearing up written treaties, trampling upon our recognized interests, demanding the dismissal of British subjects, hampering us in Egypt, and wantonly humiliating us throughout the globe. And this at a time when our foreign secretary had squandered away more British territory and abandoned more important rights than a war would have sacrificed, in the hope and belief that he had purchased therewith their close friendship and good-will. It is now too late for the government to strike out a fresh policy; it still tenaciously clings to that amicable understanding, belief in which has made us the laughing-stock of Europe. What our pushing rivals are now seeking to accomplish is this: figuratively they are constructing a cage or palisade around the British empire, within which we have freedom of motion for a time, but whose dimensions, even if they were not destined to grow gradually less, as in Africa, we shall have outgrown in a certain number of years. What policy has our Foreign Office to oppose to this?"

"We have only to compare the calm, resolute, and highly artistic manner in which Prince Lobanoff, in an incredibly short space of time, changed the face of Europe and the world, with the stumbling and floundering and blundering of our own Foreign Office for years, in order to appreciate the difference between a party politician and an imperial statesman."

"AMICABLE UNDERSTANDINGS."

England's only policy, according to this unsparing critic, has been to rely upon amicable understandings which are no sooner destroyed than the English, with child-like credulity, seek to replace them by more amicable understandings, which are as worthless as those which have been trampled under foot. He is full of admiration of Russian as opposed to English diplomacy. He declares that he judges the tree by its fruit. Russia's policy has been as uniformly successful as Lord Salisbury's has been uniformly a failure:

"Russia has been at the trouble and expense of concluding alliances and rewarding allies for the express purpose of dispensing with Great Britain's help and carrying out her schemes in the teeth of Great Britain's opposition. And that arrangement has more than justified Russia's wildest hopes of success. She has triumphed all along the line; further and greater victories await her in a short time; without the loss of a Cossack or a marine she is changing the map of the world and filling Great Britain with the gravest anxiety. At this conjuncture British statesmen hope that by 'offering' Russia a fraction of what she has it in her power to take as soon as she can digest it, they can induce her to abandon a plan which is not merely ambitious and feasible, but likewise eminently patriotic. And this is boasted British statesmanship!

SUMMING UP: WANTED—A LEADER.

"From whatever point of view, therefore, we consider the foreign policy of the present government, we find that it is unreal in its suppositions, ruinous in its results, and absolutely unworthy of the confidence of those who put the interests of the nation and the empire above the considerations of party and the shibboleths of Parliament. What we sorely need at the present grave crisis is not the prestige of this great marquis or that great earl, this rising Liberal or that enlightened Conservative, but a real statesman who understands foreign politics, foreign peoples, and foreign languages, who can adjust means to ends and successfully solve a difficult problem in imperial policy. Such a man, be he a Tory, a Radical, or an Independent, can rely upon the support of the entire British people, and will not be troubled with idle questions in Parliament. A leader of this caliber is indispensable to the empire, and unless his services can be speedily obtained, the state of things, now critical, will go from bad to worse, and whatever hopes may be entertained of the future of the Anglo-Saxon race, there are none for that of the British empire. The arguments which I have adduced against our present listless lack of policy are

unanswerable; and they are so fully borne out by the facts with which we are confronted that he who reads may run and sigh at the fate of the mightiest state of the world."

RUSSIAN ASCENDENCY IN CHINA.

THE most elaborate article in the *May Harper's* is the opening paper on "Awakened Russia," by Julian Ralph, with a great number of exceedingly handsome illustrations. As is the custom with Mr. Ralph's treatment of such a subject, there are printed a considerable number of interesting facts which he has reported in a readable manner. The most timely portion of Mr. Ralph's article is, of course, that which refers to the Russian advance on China. The ascendancy of Russia over China, Mr. Ralph says, is complete; so much so that when the great Belgian railroad concession was offered to the Muscovite Government they refused it at a moderate price, on the ground that they could get whatever concessions they wanted for nothing. Though this article must have been written before the recent events by which Russia has acquired such real and such vastly important rights in China, Mr. Ralph already assumes that the Czar has a practical protectorate "over the frightened and humiliated old empire." The form of this protectorate is briefly that Russia, in return for the acquisition of the principal naval ports of China, promises to defend Northern China from all comers, without asking anything of the same nature from that empire. When the Belgian syndicate last year had obtained what looked like a concession for a practical monopoly of railroad-building in China, the powers protested. Other syndicates offered vastly more favorable terms and all waited until the Russian Prince Oukhtomsky came. He received unprecedented honors in China. The Emperor placed a residence at his disposal in Shanghai; the Viceroy entertained him; he rode to Peking on the first train that ever rolled into the capital, and had two audiences with the Emperor, a very rare honor. "At the second audience the Emperor rose and took from the Prince's hands the gifts he had brought for the Empress Dowager—an act which is described as an astonishing piece of imperial condescension. The Prince brought an extraordinary lot of costly presents, and no important official was forgotten. One gift by the Czar to the Emperor was a bronze group representing the emancipation of the Leao-tong Peninsula from the Japanese—which may be thought to show that the Russians, like most other persons, only see what they are looking at. The Prince appeared to be eminently successful in

whatever was his undertaking, and now that he is gone the new Russo-Chinese Bank, in a palatial building where the other banks are denied more than the barest accommodations, stands as a bureau of the Russian finance department. Five millions of taels of the money China borrowed to pay her war debt is deposited in this bank as security for the fulfillment of the obligation Russia secured from her in connection with the building of the Siberian Railway through Manchuria. The capital of the bank is \$5,000,000, five-eighths of which was subscribed in France.

"The Russians have published what they are pleased to make known of the terms of the Russo-Chinese agreement concerning this new division of the great railroad on Chinese land. The shareholders are wholly Russian and Chinese, and the fiscal agent of the railroad is the Russo-Chinese Bank. The *raison d'être* of the bank is the construction of the railroad. When the books were opened for subscriptions for stock in the new railroad they were almost immediately closed, because more than the money needed was at once offered. The length of the railroad is to be 1,289 miles, 946 of which are to be in Manchuria. The route is chosen not because it shortens the Siberian Railway, for the branches to it from the finished sections make necessary the construction of 169 miles more than an entirely Siberian route would require. But the Manchuria route is cheaper to build and is 400 miles further south, in a better climate and a richer country. China reserves the right to purchase the road at the end of thirty-six years, or to take it without cost at the end of eighty years. Goods shipped through Manchuria are to be free from Chinese taxes, and goods brought into China or out of it by the railroad will pay a third less import and export duties than if brought in or out at Chinese seaports. In Manchuria the railroad is to be policed by Russian constables."

A Russo-Chinese Point of View.

Dr. A. V. Markoff contributes to the London *National Review* for April an article on the Chinese question which deserves more attention than most of the essays which are appearing on the subject in the English press. Dr. Markoff is a Russian, resident for some years in England, who has traveled extensively in China and knows the Chinese well.

THE CHINESE STANDPOINT.

In his article upon "The Policy of Russia" he brings forcibly before the attention of the public the fact that while the powers are glibly talking about the partition of China, they may be bringing about results the very opposite of those which they anticipate. In other words, Dr. Markoff re-

minds them that instead of partitioning China they may simply let loose the Chinese deluge which may engulf no small part of European civilization. Dr. Markoff, recognizing this fact, makes it the basis of an earnest appeal to the European nations to act in unity in approaching the inscrutable Chinese factor, which may easily become the dominant factor of the nineteenth century. Dr. Markoff says:

"We must not forget that while petty jealousies in Europe—Germany against England; France against Germany—seem to forecast a division in our strength, the struggle in the future will not be that of nation against nation, but of race against race, Mongolian *versus* Aryan. Having had the Mongols as rulers of our country, we have been able to study the East and her people—not superficially, but through her languages, customs, and institutions. Therefore we know the East and appreciate the possibilities of her peoples in the future."

There is not a word in the foregoing which would not have been indorsed by General Gordon, who also knew the East and appreciated the possibilities of her peoples in the future.

PARTITION IMPOSSIBLE.

Those who are airily drawing up schemes on paper for the partition of China will be interested in knowing that Dr. Markoff holds they are reckoning without their host, and that none of their schemes can be carried out:

"European nations are far from being efficiently equipped, either mentally or morally, for successfully undertaking the partition of China—nay, we will go even a step further and say outright that such a partition is quite impracticable. By dint of brute force we shall certainly be able to hold and maintain a few places on the coast—that is possible; but unless we garrisoned town and country throughout the interior and carried out a war of extermination which would deluge the whole East with blood; unless we can convert the Chinaman into the European—wood into iron—we cannot hold China.

"The land may even be ruled temporarily by Europeans, but in that case it would only mean that the old, old tale would be again repeated. Our European nations all lack the stability, or rather they lack the 'attributes of the eternal,' which characterize the Chinese, and we need not think, in our self-sufficient satisfaction, that we are going to eat up China like a piece of bread-and-cheese. We are to China what bulrushes are to the oak. If we go there we go as English, French, Germans, Russians, all jealous of each other, but the probability is that we shall leave—if we ever do leave—as Chinese."

The breakdown of the Chinese Government and their collapse in the Japanese war ought not to blind us to the fact that, as Dr. Markoff says, "when we study the principles of Chinese life and when we see how zealously they try to live up to these principles, then we must see that the race possesses all qualifications necessary to reach the highest degrees of mental, industrial, and political development. Gradually, and as soon as the Chinese become amenable to European culture, they are bound to prove an immense force in the world, both industrially, politically, and morally."

THE DUTY OF ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

Dr. Markoff concludes his paper with a plea for the cooperation of England and Russia in confronting a common danger in the far East:

"China can only be conquered by a higher civilization than her own, a civilization which will be based not on theory, but which will be carried out in practice.

"We hope Russia will not be hindered in her work of bringing China into the sphere of European civilization, but will be supported by England. We also hope that the only two countries which have a real civilizing mission in this world will go hand in hand in agreement with each other in Asia, dividing their spheres of action, and not plotting and planning one against the other. There is plenty of room for both. But if they will not work together, all their separate means will only end in their own stultification, and with the result that they will have made the Chinese great at their own expense, and in order finally to be eaten up by them—first Russia and then the rest of Europe. China will then, in point of fact, be actually 'Tyan-Sya'—the universe, the kingdom under heaven, as they call it themselves."

RUSSIA AND THE BALANCE OF POWER.

THE last article in the *Contemporary Review* for April is entitled "The Balance of Power." The personality of the writer, who has lived in Russia, is concealed by the phrase "*Quorum Pars Fui*." This writer maintains that on the whole Russia has treated England extremely well, nor is there any antagonism between the respective interests of the two countries. He says:

"There is really no cause for hostility or suspicion. So far as the North Sea and the Baltic Sea are concerned, there is every prospect of trade development between the two countries on mutually advantageous terms. England is Russia's best customer for food products; and even if Russia's protective system were an un-

generous one to us—which, on the whole, it is not—it is to Russia's interest as much as to ours that the trade should be on fair give-and-take principles. The way in which Captain Wiggins and Mr. Popham have been encouraged to assist in developing the Siberian river trade holds out every hope that increased national friendliness will be one of the results."

THE CHINESE POLICY OF RUSSIA.

The following tribute to the Chinese policy of Russia will be read by many with surprise:

"If we look back at Russia's dealings with China, we see that her relations have always been friendly and fair. In the Amur boundary question, two hundred years ago, the Russians and the Manchus were equally conquerors and explorers. It is, indeed, said that the Russians once removed the boundary stones in a tricky way; but that is also a very old Chinese trick, and, in any case, one of which local officers on a remote frontier might easily on either side be guilty. On the whole, the history of the Russo-Chinese trade relations up to our own times points to prudence, loyalty, and even considerate gentleness on the Russian side. It is often said that the Russians did a smart thing in filching Primorsk from the Manchus after our last war with China. Perhaps they did; but there was no violence; it was all a matter of fair negotiation. In the Ili question, eighteen years ago, the Russians restored certain territory, and honorably swallowed the leek in a way which no one expected to see. Here, again, they had 'smartly' and successfully negotiated with an incapable Manchu envoy in Russia. But his work was disavowed; Ili was demanded in accordance with Russia's promise and was duly given back. In the same way with Bokhara, which as a vassal state is now much more helpless than was China in 1880, Russia has honorably abandoned to her the states of Roshan and Shignan, in accordance with old claims justified by Bokhara.

"I do not for a moment mean to take a brief for Russia, whose statesmen are probably individually neither worse nor better than the rest of mankind. But what I do say is that her Asiatic policy generally seems to have been honorable 'as a whole,' due allowance made for 'psychological' considerations. Russia's whole attitude in the world is far from being an aggressive one."

FRANCE THE CAUSE OF TROUBLE.

Nor is there any truth even in the allegation of Russia's action against British interests. "*Quorum Pars Fui*" admits that it is, unfortunately, indisputable that Russia has thwarted England here and there in small matters; but he argues

that this is entirely due to the exigencies of the French alliance. He says :

"Russia, in order to protect herself against German aggression while her whole resources are devoted to developing her internal wealth, had found it useful to enlist the general countenance of France, which arrangement necessitates on the part of Russia occasional counter-favors to France in directions where her own interests are not touched. In this way Russia can make herself disagreeable to us in many parts of the world without our being able to retaliate with the same light hand. Russia wants nothing from us in any part of the world ; she does not even want money so long as she can keep France in a good hopeful humor. Thus it falls out that though there is nothing whatever to make the solid Russian interests clash with ours, or to prevent perfectly above-board and honorable dealings between ourselves and Russia, she is often forced in her own interests to abet the unreasonable pretensions of France. The remedy would, of course, be to conciliate France in such a way that she would have no interest in thwarting us or in inducing Russia to aid her in doing so."

RUSSIAN JUSTICE AND HUMANITY.

The writer pays the following enthusiastic tribute to the high personal characteristics of the Russian people :

"I found that the Russians by temperament were without exception the gentlest, most easy-going and humane nation in Europe—and I have seen them all. Their defects are many, but the leading feature in the Russian character, high and low, which stands above faults of which they have their full share, is an enthusiastic, generous humanity, easily moved to sadness and tears ; full of expansive gratitude for kindness ; free from meanness, pettiness, and cunning greed. In short, it struck me, the more I contemplated the Russian character, that they were the only people in Europe who possessed several of the better characteristics of ourselves. The Russians are not so fond of fair play, not so truthful, not so energetic, not so manly as we are ; but, on the other hand, they are less hypocritical, more truly modest, gentler, more tender, more truly religious, more humane, and less brutal and violent in every way. This being so, I decline to believe that the Russian nation as a body or the Russian Government as its representative—which shares the virtues and vices of that body—would ever lend itself heart and soul to an aggressive general war for mere purposes of spite and plunder ; and in this matter, far inferior though the Russians are to their new allies in intelligence, wit, vivacity, and many other noble qualities, they are infinitely

superior to the French. They are a juster race, with less venom."

Russia's Sinews of War.

In his article in the *National Review* on "Russia's Sinews of War," Mr. W. R. Lawson discusses the question as to how Russia and France would be able to stand the financial strain if war resulted over the present Chinese question. In Mr. Lawson's opinion, Russia, despite her apparent financial prosperity and despite the great boom in Russian industrial enterprises, would find herself in a very difficult position on the outbreak of war :

"If the Russian Government were seriously thinking of going to war with Great Britain, or even with Japan, one thing is certain, that it could not hope to screw its ordinary revenue much higher than it is already. All economic authorities who have studied the actual condition of the Russian people agree that they are overtaxed already and could bear no additional burdens."

The Russian national debt is now estimated to be nearly \$4,850,000,000. The annual expenditure has gone up from 900,000,000 roubles in 1891 to over 1,300,000,000 roubles in 1897. Russian finance is so closely bound up with that of France that the two cannot be considered apart. Mr. Lawson says :

"France is now the principal creditor as well as the chief ally of Russia in Europe. Not only has she three-fourths of the government bonds held abroad, but she is stuffing herself full of Russian mining shares and other wild-cat scrip specially manufactured for her consumption. Frenchmen who can appreciate the risk to both countries involved in this Franco-Russian boom—as mad as the Kaffir circus in its worst days—are afraid to calculate the amount of French money locked up in it. The lowest estimate is 8,000,000,000 francs, and some of them run as high as 11,000,000,000. The day that sees Russia on the verge of war with another great power will give the Paris Bourse a far worse fright over its Russian securities than it is now having over its Spanish bonds. An actual outbreak of war would knock 25 per cent. at least off the market value of these securities.

"It is to be feared that France had rather hazy ideas of what she was committing herself to when she joyfully undertook to act the part of benevolent banker to the Russian empire. Frenchmen do not appear to have examined their security very closely before they advanced their 8,000,000,000 on it. But they have had good opportunities since to complete their information. Russian finance is a favorite subject with them now, though not always an agreeable one. It is hardly

reassuring to them to discover, as they have done, that the Russian people are even more heavily burdened with debt than their government is. Hopeless indebtedness is the normal condition of peasant and landowner alike. Eighty million hectares of land—over 200,000,000 acres—are under mortgage, and the amount of the mortgages piled up on them is estimated at £240,000,000."

THE QUEEN OF DENMARK.

IN the *Woman at Home* for April, Jessie Bröchner, who has gathered the material for her article from the highest sources, writes a pleasant, gossip paper on the King and Queen of Denmark. It is illustrated by any number of photographs of the Queen, and also by an original autograph and motto written specially for the article. The writer reminds us of the fact that her majesty the Queen of Denmark has a right of precedence over her majesty the Queen of England—at least in matter of years. The Queen of Denmark was born in 1817, so that she is now in her eighty-second year, and is still in as full possession of her faculties as Queen Victoria. She is an admirable housewife, writes every week to each of her three daughters, keeps up her reading in four languages, and has of late developed a new interest in the German religious literature of the present day. She is very fond of painting and music. The royal couple breakfast at 9 o'clock, and all their visitors are expected to sit down at that time, no matter how late they may have gone to bed on the previous night.

The Queen often spends her morning cutting flowers and arranging them. Through the winter months they give dinner-parties every Wednesday, and often on Sundays. These dinners are early, and the guests depart before a London dinner would begin. The Queen drives out almost every day through the winter, often in an open carriage. The King rides every morning at the riding school at Christianborg Palace and regularly visits the royal stables. He is very fond of horses, his preference being for good-sized bays and chestnuts. The room of Alexander III. at Fredensborg is preserved in exactly the same state as when he last used it. It contains a plain and commonplace walnut writing-table which the Czar had bought himself in a small Copenhagen shop. He frequently patronized the small local shops, and used to carry home his purchases himself in triumph to the children. He was an immense favorite with little children, and often, says Miss Bröchner, played with them on the floor, forgetting his imperial dignity. A portrait of King Christian IX. appears elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW.

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC SITUATION.

PROF. BERNARD MOSES contributes to the *Journal of Political Economy* for March an able analysis of present economic conditions in Japan.

Recent writers on this subject—notably Mr. Jerome-Dyer in a *New Century Review* article from which we quoted last month—have been inclined to confuse the artistic skill exhibited by the Japanese people with mechanical skill, but Professor Moses shows that artistic talent is not in itself sufficient to insure great industrial success:

"Undoubtedly artistic taste and skill applied to production, as in France, tend to give currency and increased commercial value to wares, but artistic taste and skill alone will not give a nation industrial leadership. In many of their products the Japanese have shown great refinement of taste and great manual dexterity in carrying out their artistic conceptions, yet there is very little in their industrial products to indicate that they have ever possessed any considerable degree of mechanical ability. Their early achievements show remarkable progress in certain lines, yet in mechanical construction they have not advanced beyond the first stages of industrial growth. At present they are employing some of the more complicated appliances for the development and application of power; but these appliances have been borrowed from the nations that invented them, but they are used generally without improvement and often without the care necessary for their greatest effectiveness and longest possible preservation.

LOW WAGES AND STRIKES.

"A nation without more mechanical talent than Japan has thus far displayed, relying on other nations for its mechanical constructions, is likely in the course of time to be obliged to use inferior machinery for communication or manufacturing as compared with those nations whose genius for invention leads them constantly to make improvements in their mechanical appliances. In this respect Japan will be handicapped in her industrial rivalry with England and America. On the other hand, in the lower wages of her laborers the manufacturers of Japan have a certain advantage over those of other nations, yet this advantage is not measured by the difference of wages; for while the Japanese receive low wages, their efficiency is also low, particularly in the construction, repair, and use of machinery; and under the modern organization of production this kind of labor covers many of the more important departments."

"As Japan enters the common market of the

Western nations with her wares, her conditions of production tend to approximate those of the nations with whom she competes. Her laborers, becoming better informed as to the rate of wages paid elsewhere, demand an increase. Already they are showing strong faith in strikes as a means of obtaining the end desired. Moreover, the disposition of the people to entertain great respect for their own individual judgments under all circumstances furnishes good ground for the opinion that the strike will, for yet a number of years, continue to be a favorite weapon of the Japanese laborers in their contests with their employers. But in spite of the movement toward Western conditions of production, there is no indication that wages in Japan will ever reach the English or American standard; and it may be expected that in spite of any rise of wages which may be brought about, the increased efficiency induced by the organization and discipline necessitated under production on a large scale will leave the employer with essentially all the advantages he enjoys at present."

DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

Professor Moses points out that what determines the general conditions of labor in Japan is the fact that production is conducted for the most part on a small scale. So far as agriculture is concerned there seems to be no prospect of a change in this ruling practice, but in manufacturing industries there are signs of development.

"These are seen, in certain lines of production, in the departure from individual to corporate industry and in the attempt to secure the advantages of manufacturing on a large scale. These changes are especially noteworthy in the manufacture of cotton goods. The advance along this line has been so great that the Japanese would be pleased to have the achievements made in this direction considered as typical of the industrial progress of the nation. They like to speak of Osaka as the Manchester of Japan. The products of the Osaka mills find their largest foreign market in China, but some of them are carried as far as India. The sales in India are viewed with satisfaction, because they represent successful competition with English producers on territory under English rule. In carrying on this industry the raw cotton and the machinery are imported, and the domestic advantage is cheap labor. In seeking to maintain this industry in their own hands, the Japanese will be obliged, under the revised treaties, to withstand the competition of foreign capital. They will be obliged to compete, moreover, with the superior ability in industrial organization possessed by the English, Germans, and Americans, who,

under the proposed treaty regulations, will be able to get all the advantages of cheap labor now enjoyed by the Japanese manufacturers. For, through the revised treaties, foreigners residing in Japan and their property are to be brought under Japanese law and made subject to Japanese courts. The extra-territorial jurisdiction which the foreign powers have exercised through their consuls in the open ports is to cease, and the subjects of these powers are to be permitted to reside, hold property, and transact business in any part of Japan. Japan will undertake to hold the same relation to foreigners that the leading civilized nations of the West maintain."

HANDICAPS TO PROGRESS.

In commerce the Japanese are still on a comparatively low plane. In the old social order the merchant as he is known in the West had no place. The shopkeepers of the towns were at the lowest extreme of the social scale, and their calling was generally condemned. They had the lowest ideals of commercial morality, and even now the Japanese traders, as a class, are regarded as less reliable than the merchants of Western nations.

Japan is also at a disadvantage from the lack of thoroughness in workmanship which marks many of her wares.

"Many wares fall short of the mechanical excellence required. If it is a piece of silk, a larger thread at some point breaks the uniformity of the texture, or some other apparently insignificant defect appears. In the works of the potters the wares that will bear the most careful scrutiny are only a small part of those produced. In the products of iron and steel this is even more emphatically true. The lack of mechanical thoroughness almost always leaves something to be desired. On account of this the nation is heavily handicapped in the construction of all forms of machinery, and some forms, like the higher grades of bicycles, are entirely beyond its present ability. These limitations are inherent in the character of a people that is always disposed to pronounce an artistic rather than a mechanical judgment. Yet it may happen that the artistic quality of certain wares will more than counterbalance any mechanical defect they may possess. This might very well be true in the case of porcelain and textile products, but no artistic quality of the bicycle would be an acceptable substitute for mechanical excellence."

Even in the manufacture of artistic porcelain the beginnings of production on a large scale have been made, the works of the recognized masters constitute a constantly decreasing quantity

in the exportations, and most of the Japanese porcelains now put on the market are cheap and ugly.

JAPAN AND ITALY—A PARALLEL.

In conclusion, Professor Moses draws a parallel between Japan and Italy in their strivings to attain rank with the great powers of the world:

"After the achievement of political unity, Italy might have held a very dignified position as a third-rate power. She might have continued to enjoy her hereditary prestige in art and to take pride in her early intellectual leadership. The world would not have demanded much of her, and she might have devoted her energies to the development of her internal administration and economic resources. But in an evil hour she determined to be a great military and naval state, and as a result of her ambition she has been for years on the verge of bankruptcy. It may not be wise to prophesy that Japan, moved by the ambition to be a great power, has entered upon a career which leads to a similar end. At the same time it is impossible to avoid observing here a certain parallel. Both nations have won distinction for their artistic creations. Each has a small territory and a large population, which has necessitated careful and intense cultivation and left little opportunity in the present for agricultural growth. In both nations the genius of the people is artistic. The Japanese and the Italians stand in sharp contrast with the mechanical English and Americans, and by reason of their lack of mechanical talent suffer an obvious disadvantage in the rivalries of this industrial age. Yet during the last few years the Japanese have been enjoying their industrial honeymoon. They have started on a new career, and the way before them has seemed to be very easy and agreeable. Because they have not yet encountered the real difficulties of the industrial state, it is possible that they are living in the sweet delusion that there are no difficulties. With an extended use of credit, they will be likely to enter into the experiences of commercial crises, and with the development of the factory system have part in the practical problems that have been brought to the attention of Western nations by strikes, lock-outs, and mob violence. In whatever aspect Japan's economic activity is viewed, it is difficult to discover prospects of economic growth justifying sufficient expenditures to enable the nation to play the rôle that is apparently the object of its ambition."

"External pressure broke the barriers of Japanese isolation and enabled the people to rise from the position of a number of almost inde-

pendent and antagonistic provinces to be a nation in reality under an imperial ruler. Through the influence of a foreign war there was aroused a spirit of national patriotism, which has swept away the pettiness of the old provincial life, and put forth the demand that hereafter the nation shall be counted in the treaties among the most favored nations."

Gold Monometallism in Japan.

In the *Political Science Quarterly* for March Mr. J. Soyeda, of the Japanese treasury, concludes an elaborate review and defense of Japan's action in adopting the single gold standard with the following summary of the chief advantages hoped for by the friends of the new monetary system:

"Economically, the gold standard, by steadying prices, will contribute much to the real increase of wealth; commercially, foreign trade will be freed from its speculative tendency, and the trade with gold countries, in particular, will be facilitated; industrially, we can import machinery and railroad equipment much more easily from gold countries; at the same time, we can get more cheaply cotton and other raw materials from China and other silver-using countries, provided the supposition that silver is doomed to fall be true; financially, the relation with the external money market will be made closer, as proved already by the sale of government bonds in the London market; socially, the speculative spirit will be cooled down, luxurious habits may be checked, and the whole tendency in national life will become more sound and trustworthy."

"None but a prophet can exactly predict how the future will turn out. The benefits described are what the writer believes will be realized; whether this belief is well founded or not must be left to the verdict of time. Without sound money, true, general, and lasting economic progress is never to be realized. This is why Japan made up her mind to adopt the gold standard. It is the earnest wish of the writer that all enlightened countries may adopt this standard without heeding the groundless cry of bimetalists that gold is scarce, or their fruitless efforts to convene international conferences. The annual output of gold is, in fact, on the increase, and international agreement is practically impossible. The only actual result of the agitation for a new conference is to intensify the fluctuations of silver in the market. Gold monometallism alone can pave the way to the attainment of a universal money, and thus to that closer intercourse that shall bring all the nations into one brotherhood—the goal and destiny of mankind."

IS THERE WORK ENOUGH FOR ALL?

DR. WILLIAM T. HARRIS, United States Commissioner of Education, discusses this question in the April *Forum*. To state the problem in Dr. Harris' own words:

"Granted that you have proved that the production of the nation as a whole increases steadily with the adoption of new inventions in machinery and the application of the powers of steam and electricity, does not all this progress involve the displacement of the laborer? Where a thousand seamstresses were once employed in the manufacture of clothing, one hundred only were needed after the invention of the sewing-machine. Where a thousand blacksmiths' apprentices were needed to make nails by hand, one only is needed now with the machine that makes them out of steel wire. What becomes of the nine hundred seamstresses and the nine hundred and ninety-nine nailmakers thus thrown out of employment? If agricultural machinery enables one man to do what six did in former times, what happens to the five not needed for agricultural production? All along the line machinery is pushing out the laborer from the work for which he has been preparing himself since infancy. Scarcely any of the old trades which required seven years' apprenticeship can avoid the fate which mechanical invention forces upon them. Some ingenious devices or a series of such devices are deftly inserted in place of the living hand, and the occupation of the workman, skilled by long apprenticeship, is gone."

NEW CALLINGS FOR THE WORKERS.

Dr. Harris shows how, in the progress of civilization, new avenues of employment are created:

"Human wants and desires have come to demand more than the mere necessities for living. Before a complete supply of such necessities is reached, society demands creature comforts and means of luxury. It accordingly sends out its demand for laborers who have greater skill of manipulation and greater power of invention, and invites them to ascend to better-paid industries. These include manufactures that are adapted to luxury and creature comforts and which require a high order of educated technical skill. This culling out of the higher class of laborers relieves the pressure on the lower orders, wherein machinery displaces the mere hand laborer. It is obvious all along the line that a new cycle of employments which add luxury and creature comforts may draw into it the laborers of the lower class as fast as they can be dispensed with below. Suppose that an extreme limit is reached, and that one person out of each hundred of the

population is able to supply with the aid of machinery all the raw material that is needed. Suppose again that one person out of each hundred of the people engaged in manufacturing, when aided by machinery, is equal to the task of producing all the articles of necessity. Suppose the same in the spheres of transportation and commerce. When once the labor was readjusted it would be found that the ninety-nine laborers out of each hundred could be profitably employed in providing a better quality of clothing, more commodious dwellings, more comfortable furniture, better transportation facilities, and more healthful mills and working-places for the laborer. The entire surplus of laborers could be taken up into this higher order of occupations that increase the means of luxury and comfort for the people.

ADAPTABILITY ESSENTIAL.

"This readjustment of vocations may be accomplished well enough, provided the laborers are generally intelligent. But this is a very important proviso. The populace must be educated in the common schools and have that superior intelligence which comes from knowledge of the rudiments—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, industrial drawing, etc. And with education the laborer becomes able to ascend from mere hand work to the supervision and direction of machinery and to those employments requiring greater skill which furnish the articles of luxury and creature comfort."

The figures of the United States census seem to bear out Dr. Harris' contentions. In the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 there was an apparent increase in the higher vocations—that is to say, the learned professions, teaching, journalism, literature, art, printing, etc.—of nearly 50 per cent.

"The number of vocations also increases and will increase; the inventive mind being very active in the direction of furnishing new devices for instruction, as well as in the matter of intercommunication between the individual and his fellow-men. As fast as the supply of the lower order of wants can be effected by means of machinery, large numbers press upward into these vocations, which have to deal with intercommunication, the diffusion of science, and the refinement of taste. That part of the population which still labors in the lowest round of occupations claims as its right that those who fill the professional employments shall labor for its delectation and welfare.

"Suppose that machinery should so far conquer drudgery that one person in each hundred, by the aid of machinery, could furnish all the

food, clothing, and shelter needed for the other ninety-nine: every one of these ninety-nine would find ample employment in the higher order of employments which provide means for luxury, protection, and culture. The discontent existing at the present time originates largely in the feeling that there is too much drudgery and too little time for science, art, literature, and the contemplation of ideals. Instead of coming too fast, useful inventions are not coming fast enough."

THE MUNICIPALITY AND THE GAS-SUPPLY.

IN our April number we quoted from two articles on the recent lease of the Philadelphia gas-works, an event in American municipal history of far more than local interest and significance. In the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for May, Dr. Leo S. Rowe reviews Philadelphia's experience from the point of view of the municipal economist.

Dr. Rowe concedes that the opponents as well as the friends of the lease were generally agreed that the results of municipal management of the gas-works were not encouraging, but he says that this conclusion was reached without a sufficiently thorough investigation of the facts. His own study of the history of this municipal enterprise leads him to conclude that the most serious defects connected with city management are traceable to evils inherited from the long period of irresponsible management by the so-called "gas trust," which can give no fair test of municipal efficiency, while during the period of responsible city control—that is, the last ten years—he finds indication of improvement in every direction. That such improvement was not more rapid he attributes to the mistaken policy of the city councils rather than to defects in the administration of the gas department. Dr. Rowe cites abundant statistics in support of this contention.

THE ABANDONMENT OF A MUNICIPAL FUNCTION.

After discussing the lease as a purely business relation between the city and the company, Dr. Rowe proceeds to examine the relinquishment by the city of the gas service as a municipal function.

"That the use of gas is playing an important part in the economy of modern life requires no demonstration. Neither will any one doubt that it is destined to play an increasingly important part for some years to come.

"At the time the gas-works were placed under municipal control in Glasgow—and the same statement applies to the other cities of Great Britain—the use of gas was limited to the well-

to-do classes. After careful study and inquiry, the municipal authorities came to the conclusion that to introduce its use for cooking and illuminating purposes by the working classes, particularly in the thickly settled tenement districts, would work radical changes in their mode of life. The wastefulness of the coal-stove and the comparatively high cost of its maintenance had given to uncooked foods an important place in the standard of life of these classes, a fact that seriously affected their industrial efficiency and physical vigor. The widespread use of alcoholic liquors was largely to be explained by the crude diet of the poorer classes. It was evident that the introduction of a new element into the standard of life could only be effected by the city through a temporary subordination of financial considerations. In order to facilitate the use of gas for illuminating purposes, automatic penny-in-the-slot meters were introduced. For two cents a large burner would be supplied for a period of five hours. Furthermore, the city inaugurated the policy of renting gas-stoves, making all connections free of charge. At first the use of automatic meters was small, but with each year the number has increased until at the present time we find over 13,000 of such meters in use in Manchester. With each year the number of gas-stoves rented by the city is increasing. In 1896 Glasgow rented 12,762 and Manchester 9,403.

AN IMPORTANT SOCIAL SERVICE.

"The influence of this more general use of gas upon the standard of life is strongly evident to any one examining the standard of life of the working classes in the English cities. The use of cooked foods is far more general than was the case ten years ago. That this change has had an influence upon the health and industrial efficiency of the population is attested by the testimony of health officers. Furthermore, through the low price of gas the city has been able to exert an influence upon industrial conditions. The introduction of the gas-engine to replace the steam-engine has given a new lease of life to the small manufacturer.

"In pursuing this policy in the gas administration, the English cities have been carrying out a general principle which pervades the management of all their quasi-public works. The municipal street-railroad systems are being used to effect a more equable distribution of population; the municipal water-supply furnishes hydraulic power at low rates; and the municipal gas-supply is contributing to the improvement of the standard of life and of the industrial efficiency of the population. The municipality, for this

reason, represents a far more positive force in English city life than in the United States. That American municipalities must, in time, perform the same functions is evident to any one who has followed the course of municipal development. To relinquish public works means simply to postpone the period when such service is to be performed.

"From whatever point of view the change of policy in Philadelphia be examined, the conclusion that it marks a retrograde movement is unavoidable. This is particularly true when it is looked at from the standpoint of civic progress. The recent history of American municipalities has shown that the dangers to be feared do not lie in the direction of municipal socialism, but rather in the increasing influence of private corporations enjoying public franchises upon our public life. The inability of our city governments to maintain control over private corporations performing quasi-public functions is the most conspicuous weakness of our administrative system. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that these corporations have succeeded in intrenching themselves as the real power behind the constituted authorities in all matters affecting their interests."

A STUDY IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

MISS JANE ADDAMS, of Hull House, Chicago, contributes to the *International Journal of Ethics* a paper on "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption," based on observation during "eight years' residence in a ward of Chicago which has, during all of that time, returned to the city council a notoriously corrupt politician." We may add that since Miss Addams' article appeared in print the same alderman has once more been elected to represent the ward in which Hull House is situated, in spite of the strenuous efforts to defeat him made by the Municipal Voters' League and other reform agencies, of which Hull House itself was one.

THE MILK OF HUMAN KINDNESS.

Miss Addams gives many interesting facts to illustrate the various ways by which a typical Chicago alderman of the baser sort has ingratiated himself with his constituency, which is largely composed of foreign-born citizens and numbers altogether fifty thousand people.

"Any one who has lived among poorer people cannot fail to be impressed with their constant kindness to each other; that unfailing response to the needs and distresses of their neighbors, even when in danger of bankruptcy themselves. This is their reward for living in the midst of poverty. They have constant opportunities for

self-sacrifice and generosity, to which, as a rule, they respond. A man stands by his friend when he gets too drunk to take care of himself, when he loses his wife or child, when he is evicted for non-payment of rent, when he is arrested for a petty crime. It seems to such a man entirely fitting that his alderman should do the same thing on a larger scale—that he should help a constituent out of trouble just because he is in trouble, irrespective of the justice involved."

"The alderman, therefore, bails out his constituents when they are arrested, or says a good word to the police justice when they appear before him for trial; uses his 'pull' with the magistrate when they are likely to be fined for a civil misdemeanor, or sees what he can do to 'fix up matters' with the State's attorney when the charge is really a serious one."

GOOD USE OF THE SPOILS OF OFFICE.

"Because of simple friendliness, the alderman is expected to pay rent for the hard-pressed tenant when no rent is forthcoming, to find jobs when work is hard to get, to procure and divide among his constituents all the places which he can seize from the City Hall. The alderman of the Nineteenth Ward at one time made the proud boast that he had twenty-six hundred people in his ward upon the public pay-roll. This, of course, included day-laborers, but each one felt under distinct obligations to him for getting the job."

By this means alone the alderman controlled one-third of the entire vote of the ward.

"If we recollect, further, that the franchise-seeking companies pay respectful heed to the applicants backed by the alderman, the question of voting for the successful man becomes as much an industrial as a political one. An Italian laborer wants a job more than anything else, and quite simply votes for the man who promises him one."

"The alderman may himself be quite sincere in his acts of kindness. In certain stages of moral evolution, a man is incapable of unselfish action the results of which will not benefit some one of his acquaintances; still more, of conduct that does not aim to assist any individual whatsoever; and it is a long step in moral progress to appreciate the work done by the individual for the community."

"The alderman gives presents at weddings and christenings. He seizes these days of family festivities for making friends. It is easiest to reach people in the holiday mood of expansive good-will, but on their side it seems natural and kindly that he should do it. The alderman procures passes from the railroads when his consti-

uents wish to visit friends or to attend the funerals of distant relatives; he buys tickets galore for benefit entertainments given for a widow or a consumptive in peculiar distress; he contributes to prizes which are awarded to the handsomest lady or the most popular man. At a church bazaar, for instance, the alderman finds the stage all set for his dramatic performance. When others are spending pennies he is spending dollars. Where anxious relatives are canvassing to secure votes for the two most beautiful children who are being voted upon, he recklessly buys votes from both sides, and laughingly declines to say which one he likes the best, buying off the young lady who is persistently determined to find out with five dollars for the flower bazaar, the posies, of course, to be sent to the sick of the parish. The moral atmosphere of a bazaar suits him exactly. He murmurs many times, 'Never mind; the money all goes to the poor,' or 'It is all straight enough if the church gets it,' or 'The poor won't ask too many questions.' The oftener he can put sentiments of that sort into the minds of his constituents, the better he is pleased. Nothing so rapidly prepares them to take his view of money-getting and money-spending."

SOURCES OF CORRUPTION.

"The question does, of course, occur to many minds, Where does the money come from with which to dramatize so successfully? The more primitive people accept the truthful statement of its sources without any shock to their moral sense. To their simple minds he gets it 'from the rich,' and so long as he again gives it out to the poor, as a true Robin Hood, with open hand, they have no objections to offer. Their ethics are quite honestly those of the merry-making foresters. The next less primitive people of the vicinage are quite willing to admit that he leads 'the gang' in the city council and sells out the city franchises; that he makes deals with the franchise-seeking companies; that he guarantees to steer dubious measures through the council, for which he demands liberal pay; that he is, in short, a successful boddler. But when there is intellect enough to get this point of view, there is also enough to make the contention that this is universally done; that all the aldermen do it more or less successfully, but that the alderman of the Nineteenth Ward is unique in being so generous; that such a state of affairs is to be deplored, of course, but that that is the way business is run, and we are fortunate when a kind-hearted man who is close to the people gets a large share of the boodle; that he serves these franchised companies who employ men in the building and construction of their enterprises, and

that they are bound in return to give jobs to his constituency. It is again the justification of stealing from the rich to give to the poor. Even when they are intelligent enough to complete the circle and to see that the money comes, not from the pockets of the companies' agents, but from the street car fares of people like themselves, it almost seems as if they would rather pay two cents more each time they ride than give up the consciousness that they have a big, warm-hearted friend at court who will stand by them in an emergency. The sense of just dealing comes apparently much later than the desire for protection and kindness. On the whole, the gifts and favors are taken quite simply, as an evidence of good and loving kindness, or are accepted as inevitable political measures."

Miss Addams admirably sums up the vital truth of the whole matter in these two paragraphs:

"The alderman is really elected because he is a good friend and neighbor. He is corrupt, of course, but he is not elected because he is corrupt, but rather in spite of it. His standard suits his constituents. He exemplifies and exaggerates the popular type of a good man. He has attained what his constituents secretly long for."

"This lowering of standards, this setting of an ideal, is perhaps the worst of the situation, for daily by our actions and decisions we not only determine ideals for ourselves, but largely for each other. We are all involved in this political corruption, and as members of the community stand indicted. This is the penalty of a democracy—that we are bound to move forward or retrograde together. None of us can stand aside, for our feet are mired in the same soil and our lungs breathe the same air."

THE ENGLISH GOVERNING OLIGARCHY.

MR. SIDNEY LOW, till recently editor of the *St. James's Gazette*, London, contributes to the April *Forum* an interesting study of the English political system, with special reference to the influence of the aristocracy in practical government.

Mr. Low reiterates the familiar observation of English publicists that the English system of government is even more democratic than the American, and yet he is constrained to admit that "the multitude does not rule England"—that is, the actual administration is not in the hands of persons belonging to the most numerous classes of the population.

THE CABINET.

Although hardly recognized in English political theory, the cabinet, in Mr. Low's view, is the true keystone of English government as ad-

ministered to-day, and in practice the cabinet is a powerful check on democratic tendencies. To the fling of certain English writers that the American voter's chief function is to choose a despot every four years, Mr. Low very aptly replies that as matters stand the chief political duty of the British voter is to elect an oligarchy, whose powers are almost unlimited till the time comes for them to be abandoned. So long as it is permitted to exist, this oligarchy is more powerful than our President.

"In theory, of course, the House of Commons may dismiss it at any moment or may cause it to reverse its policy by an adverse vote. But in modern practice the House of Commons seldom does this, unless the cabinet breaks up by internal dissension—as was the case in 1886, when Mr. Gladstone shattered his ministry over the Irish home-rule bill—or unless ministers themselves feel that their mandate is exhausted and voluntarily court defeat. The latter event happened in 1895, when Lord Rosebery went out of office, after a hostile division on a minor question of departmental administration in a half-empty House. In a general way, however, it is true to say that in our time the House of Commons does not defeat its ministers on points involving the existence of a cabinet.

"The remedy of punishing a cabinet by a vote of censure or by throwing out a government bill of importance is in the hands of the House; but it is tending more and more to take the place of the old—and never formally abandoned—expedient of impeachment, and to be regarded as a valuable prerogative to be used only in extreme cases. No doubt ministers are constantly defeated in committee debates in which the details of bills are discussed; but this seldom happens except on comparatively small points on which they themselves are not unwilling to give way. Otherwise, and so long as they are not guilty of corruption or gross misconduct, they are fairly safe in the House until such time as a long series of unfavorable by-elections has altered the balance of parties at Westminster, or convinced ministers that they have lost the confidence of the electors out of doors. Till one of these things happens the cabinet has practical immunity in the lower house, and for a very simple reason: the ministers are the nominees, not of the House as a whole, but only of the majority; and, naturally, the majority does not want to defeat itself and confer a victory on the opposition."

Mr. Low explains the peculiar influence possessed by an English premier over his followers as largely due to the fear of a dissolution of Parliament and the resulting general election, which the premier can always hold out as a threat in

case of disagreement. In the conduct of administration the premier can do about as he pleases.

THE "GOVERNING CLASS" IN ENGLAND.

It may be difficult for the American reader to understand why the members of the British cabinet should always come from a particular social class. On this point Mr. Low remarks:

"Theoretically, of course—indeed, in the view of most Englishmen—any man can become a member of the cabinet just as he can become a member of Parliament. There is no formal bar to prevent it. The road is open to all British subjects; and so far as any positive enactments or prohibitions are concerned, it should be no more impossible for a rail-splitter or a country attorney to become prime minister of England than for a person of the same condition to attain the Presidency of the United States. But we talk here not of possibilities, but of actualities; and as a matter of fact it is rare, and it has been rare at any time during this century, for a man not a member of one of the aristocratic or territorial families, nor closely associated, by wealth, education, and social connections, with the circle that includes those families, to enter the cabinet of Great Britain. In other words, he must belong to what has been correctly described as the governing order; for such an order there is in England. It consists, roughly speaking, of the peerage and its offshoots, the great landowners and county families, and the comparatively limited number of wealthy persons of the mercantile, manufacturing, and professional classes who are admitted to what is called 'society.' In fact, society, in this sense of the word, is almost coterminous with the governing class. It would be difficult to say what constitutes exactly the qualification for membership of this select body. Birth, wealth, leisure, are no doubt the main requisites. Without at least one, and preferably more than one, of the three, it is difficult to enter the circle.

"Fortunately for itself and fortunately for the country, the aristocracy in England has never been a caste. In these matters mankind is ruled by names; and nothing has worked more usefully than the custom—for, as it happens, it is no more than a custom—by which honorary titles do not attach to the descendants of the younger children of English peers. It might have become the fashion for every child, grandchild, and great-grandchild of a baron or viscount to be called 'Lord' or 'Lady' to the end of time. As it is, the younger son of a lord is only 'The Honorable;' and his son is plain 'Mr.' Thus the scion of a noble house merges into the upper stratum of the commonalty.

"At the same time the wealthy and successful member of the *haute bourgeoisie* is not debarred from entering the ranks of the aristocracy. The process is usually performed in the second or third generation. The son of the rich contractor, or manufacturer, or mine-owner is sent to Eton and Christ Church, marries the daughter of one of the territorial families, enters Parliament, and in course of time may receive a peerage himself. The governing class has assimilated him."

In regard to the homage paid to merit for its own sake by this English oligarchy, Mr. Low says:

"It is only fair to remember that the ruling clique has never shown itself adverse to the recognition of ability. The clever professional man is occasionally admitted, though not, as a rule, till his cleverness has taken the form of actual pecuniary success; and here and there a mere outsider, like Canning or Disraeli, has forced himself in by sheer weight of genius. Even in these exceptional cases, however, the outsider enters, as it were, by favor of the society oligarchy. The instances are rare indeed where a poor man has been able to rise to a leading place in politics without influential connections and without being 'taken up' in London drawing-rooms. The case of John Bright, and perhaps that of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, may be quoted as those of very able men who scaled the political heights by the truly democratic method of impressing their personality upon the masses of their fellow-citizens. But even these cases are those of rich men; and both statesmen, before they attained to the rank of cabinet minister, had been distinctly accepted by society. Manchester and Birmingham sent them into politics; but it was London—the West End of London—which placed them among the rulers of the empire."

WHO FORM THE MINISTRIES?

Mr. Low's account of the process by which ministers are appointed in England makes it clear that there is very little effort made to select men "in touch with the masses" of their countrymen:

"We have, then, this actually large, but relatively rather small, governing class, consisting, as I have said, of the few thousand representatives of the nobility, landowners, capitalists, and successful professional men who make up London society. No constitutional rule or precedent prescribes that ministers shall be appointed from this set of persons. But, from the circumstances of the case, they usually are so appointed. The electorate itself is far too amorphous, too scattered, and too ill-organized to perform the process of selection; and there is nothing in England corresponding to the party conventions by

which candidates for the Presidency of the United States are nominated. When the result of a general election has decided that one of the two great parties is to enter office, the Queen sends for the statesman who is the most conspicuous figure in this political group and commissions him to form a ministry. This personage, whether he be a great nobleman, like Lord Salisbury or the Duke of Devonshire, or a distinguished commoner, like Mr. Gladstone or Sir William Harcourt, has passed most of his life—even if he has not been actually 'born in the purple'—within the innermost recesses of London society. He is usually advanced in years (Lord Rosebery is the only recent instance of a middle-aged premier); he is generally wealthy and often titled; and he is closely connected, if not by ties of blood and marriage, at least by long and intimate association, with the most exclusive sets in the capital. He himself may be and probably is altogether above the worship of wealth, rank, and fashion. Yet the conditions of his life make it difficult for him to break away from the circle. His opportunities do not allow him to consort much with people who are poor, unknown, and obscure. When he has to make up his ministry he naturally consults his own little court of friends, followers, and allies; and they naturally press the claims of their own associates—the men whom they meet at London luncheons and dinners and fashionable country-house parties, who call each other by their Christian names, who have been educated at the same little group of public schools and colleges, and have pretty freely intermarried with each other's relatives. What wonder if the distribution of offices falls largely to the members of this body?"

Mr. Low has no difficulty in citing concrete illustrations in the last Liberal ministry, as well as in Lord Salisbury's present official family. Birth, wealth, and social qualifications were and are ruling qualifications of membership.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS.

Judged by practical results, the system, in Mr. Low's opinion, is above condemnation:

"Its strong point is that it provides a class of public men who, taken altogether, are very adequately equipped for their business. Their wealth and standing place them beyond all suspicion of the coarser kind of corruption; they are sufficiently above the need of earning a livelihood to be able to enter active politics in the prime of life; and from their position in society they grow early accustomed to deal with affairs in the spirit of men of the world. Some of the younger ministers and under-secretaries in the present cabinet, like Mr. George Curzon and Mr.

St. John Brodrick, have been practically trained for administration from their boyhood by a long course of study, by travel, and by an early apprenticeship to the House of Commons; so that as they near forty they have acquired an experience with which the middle-class man—who enters Parliament about that age—cannot be expected to cope. Politics, to be well managed, must, as a rule, be in the hands of those who devote a great deal of time and attention to it. The difficulty of a democracy lies in inducing a sufficient number of fairly honest and fairly capable men to undertake public duties without the temptation or the hope of unlimited spoils. The English system at least goes some way toward overcoming this difficulty."

IRELAND SINCE '98.

MR. JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P., writes in the *North American Review* for April on the history of Ireland since the insurrection of 1798, the centenary of which, he says, will be celebrated this year, not only in Ireland itself, but in every land in which Irishmen or the descendants of Irishmen live.

Mr. Redmond declares that the object of the real authors of the insurrection was what actually resulted—the union of 1800, and that there is practically no longer any controversy about the motives of those who promoted this union, the means by which it was carried, or the results by which it has been attended. In brief, England was jealous of Ireland's social and political progress and afraid of possible developments under Ireland's legislative independence. The policy of the union was resolved on, and it was decided that the policy must be carried through at whatever cost. Mr. Redmond describes the process as follows:

"The conversion of a perfectly constitutional agitation for reform of the Irish constitution into a so-called rebellion was the initial step. Into the history of that cold-blooded performance it is not within my purpose to enter here. The second step was to bribe the Irish Parliament to commit suicide, it having been found that even the terrors of '98 were not sufficient of themselves to bring about that consummation. That the union was accomplished by the most open, base, and profligate corruption that has ever stained the annals of any country, is now an admitted fact. The peerage, the episcopal bench, the bench of justice, the civil service, the army, and the navy were all commodities trafficked in for the purchase of votes for the union. 'The catiffs of corruption,' as Grattan said, 'were everywhere—in the lobby, in the street, on the

steps and at the doors of every Parliamentary leader; offering titles to some, offices to others, corruption to all.' 'The basest corruption and artifice,' said Lord Chief Justice Bushe, 'were exerted to promote the union; all the worst passions of the human heart entered into the service; and all the most depraved ingenuity of the human intellect was tortured to devise new contrivances of fraud.'"

The project of the union was defeated, however, in the first session of the Irish Parliament in which it was brought forward, but it was carried in the second.

"From the very moment of the accomplishment of the union down to the moment I write," says Mr. Redmond, "Ireland, broadly speaking, has been either actively or passively in revolt against the usurpation of 1800, and England has been at the same time engaged in a constant effort to buy off its opposition by periodical concessions or to put it down by force or fraud."

The different stages of Ireland's "revolt" during the past century may be summarized as the O'Connell agitation, the attempted insurrection of 1848, the Fenian outbreak of 1867, and the agrarian troubles in the 70s and 80s which led to the Gladstone land agitation and proposition of home rule.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS EQUALITY.

Mr. Redmond is especially severe in denouncing the discriminations made for many years against Catholics in Ireland—much the larger part of the population. He says:

"The authors of the union who promised Catholic emancipation as the result of the union deliberately broke their words. They not merely neglected to effect emancipation, but they actively opposed it. Nor did their successors change their tactics till the very last, when the fear of civil war, as the Duke of Wellington himself admitted, compelled them to do so. Even then the 'concession' was incomplete. The Emancipation act of 1829 has been talked of as a great measure, and, of course, it was; but, read in the light of the closing days of the century, it really looks as much like a measure of pains and penalties for Catholics as like a measure of freedom. Quite a number of its clauses or sections expressly impose disabilities for certain professors of the Catholic faith. The religious orders, for instance, are banned by it, and up to a few years ago no Catholic lawyer in Ireland, no matter how competent or how distinguished, could occupy the highest post in his profession—namely, the lord chancellorship. When at last partial emancipation was granted it was accompanied by a sweeping measure of disfranchisement. Catholics

were rendered capable of election to Parliament ; but in order that as few as possible of them might be able to get there the forty-shilling freehold vote, which carried O'Connell's election for Clare, was absolutely swept away, and not again till fourteen years ago were the bulk of the householders of Ireland, in town or country, admitted to the franchise, though the English established household suffrage for their own boroughs in 1868. The Catholics in Ireland, it need hardly be said, have all through the century been three to one of the entire population ; but it took seventy years after the passing of the union to put all the denominations on a level by disestablishing the Church of the minority. In the affair of education the story of English policy is of a piece with the policy of England toward Ireland in everything else. Forbidden to learn at all in the seventeenth century, Irish Catholics were offered, for more than thirty years after the union, the alternative of still going without education altogether or obtaining it in institutions which their consciences prevented them from attending, and this is actually the alternative still presented to such of them as desire the higher education imparted in universities. Finally, though religious equality in the abstract now prevails in Ireland, in the concrete it is largely a myth ; for even still an undue proportion—it may be said a large majority—of all the posts of power, emolument, or honor in the country are held by professors of other faiths than that of the great majority of the people."

IRELAND'S LIST OF GRIEVANCES.

We pass over the long and disheartening story of the strife of the tenants against the landlords. That story has been told many times, and the conditions have been greatly modified for the better.

The financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland have been investigated recently by a royal commission, which concludes that Ireland, since 1853, has been overtaxed to the amount of nearly fifteen million dollars a year.

Mr. Redmond concludes his outline of Ireland's history since 1798 as follows:

"The union, the accomplishment of which was the main object of the men who fomented, nurtured, matured, and eventually brought about the insurrection of that year and then repressed it in a sea of blood and with every circumstance of cruelty and brutality, has been to Ireland an unmixed curse and even to England itself a source of constant trouble and dishonor.

"Of course, the advocates of the maintenance of the union have something to say for themselves, and it may be well to notice their plea

here very briefly. They cannot and do not deny that all through the century Ireland has been practically in revolt against the union. They cannot and do not deny that, in consequence, England has all through the century governed Ireland as if it were an unwilling slave chafing at and trying to burst his chains. They cannot and do not deny that every reform passed for Ireland during that period has been wrung from the imperial Parliament by agitation and disturbance in Ireland. They cannot deny that the union has produced a war of classes instead of social peace, and that religious antagonism has often been actually more acute since the union than it was in the days of Grattan's Parliament. They cannot and do not deny the fearful reduction of the population of Ireland—a reduction unparalleled in any civilized or progressive country on the face of the earth, and that nevertheless there have been one appalling famine, recurring periods of distress, and a chronic state of poverty all along the western seaboard of the island. They do not deny that the manufacturers of Ireland have dwindled almost out of existence and that the main industry of agriculture is always in a more or less depressed condition.

PROGRESS NOTWITHSTANDING.

"But they say that, in spite of all those things, Ireland has yet on the whole prospered in the last hundred years. The deposits in the Irish banks have greatly increased. The tonnage of the principal Irish ports has also increased. The people are better housed, better fed, better clothed, and better educated than the Irish people were in 1798. Granted all this for the sake of argument, and yet what does it prove? That Ireland has progressed as it ought to have done—has progressed like England, Belgium, France, Norway, or any other European country? Of course not, but that it has shared to some slight extent, despite the most adverse conditions, in the general progress of the world. No one denies that Ireland has advanced in some respects since 1798 ; what is complained of is that she has not been allowed to advance as she would have done and was actually doing under her own free constitution between 1782 and 1796, and that nothing but the back-wash, as it were, of the universal prosperity of the world outside has been allowed to touch her shores. The advocates of the union might have made their case apparently stronger by pointing out that Ireland has now several things she did not possess in 1798—railroads, and telegraphs, and the penny postage, and the telephone—but the fallacy of the argument would have been there all the same.

"Ireland, however, is making way politically,

at least—slowly, but surely. The blood of the martyrs of '98 was not shed in vain. The efforts and sacrifices of the men of '48, '65, and '67 have borne fruit. The statesmanship of Parnell not only achieved much, but will yet inspire the whole Irish nation to brave and wise deeds for its liberation. Even as I write, the very supporters of the union are actually offering a wide measure of local self-government. There is no reason for despair."

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

IN an article contributed to the April *Forum* on "Central America: Its Resources and Commerce," Mr. William Eleroy Curtis asserts that the chief reason for the obvious lack of progress in that country lies in the avarice and ambition of the political leaders in the several "republics."

"Misgovernment is the great obstacle to their development and prosperity; and it obstructs, more or less, the advancement of all the other Latin-American States. There is no lack of patriotism, but in some of the countries the practice of seeking pecuniary profit from the exercise of political power has become almost habitual. The progress in internal improvements, in industry, commerce, education, and wealth, that a nation may make under a liberal, intelligent, and honest government, finds a striking example in Mexico, where the finances have been managed with the strictest integrity since General Diaz has been president. The fact is also illustrated by the lively 'spurts' in civilization which have been made by some of the other countries of Latin America where the people have had peace, freedom from excessive taxation, and an assurance that the public moneys were properly expended for the general welfare. The prosperity of Costa Rica to-day indicates what the conditions might be if such blessings were permanent throughout the hemisphere. But a lust for power and riches has possessed the rulers of the Spanish colonies in America ever since they were discovered; and it still exists, in a greater or less degree, in the tropical countries.

CORRUPT OFFICIALISM.

"Public opinion in the Latin States is tolerant toward official speculation; perhaps this is due to habit. It is too often the case in Central America for a new president, when he first comes into power, to invest in New York, London, or Paris, as soon as possible, a sum sufficient to keep himself and his family in luxury for the rest of their lives. When that is accomplished, his next effort is to provide for his reelection by the ordinary means known to politicians in those coun-

tries, which involve liberal allowances and sinecures for his supporters, the appointment of unnecessary officials, unwarranted liberality in granting contracts and concessions, and the maintenance of an army to preserve order and protect the palace. Though such efforts, when directed by a brave and skillful man, usually prove successful, rivals are apt to spring up, and factions and feuds are numerous. Whenever a revolution occurs, it means that some president is endeavoring to perpetuate his authority against some one who desires to succeed him, or that some ambitious statesman is so eager for political promotion that he cannot wait for an election. If let alone, the people never rebel. They are patient, patriotic, loyal, and long-suffering; and while their partisanship finds expression in fiercer emotions than are often displayed in the political contests of North America, they will submit to almost any kind of government until their indignation is aroused by some unusual act.

DEMORALIZATION AND POVERTY.

"This peculiarity of the Central American republics keeps them poor. It prevents the development of their natural resources, the construction of internal improvements, and the establishment of mechanical industries. It frightens capital from making investments, and keeps immigrants away. There is practically no immigration. Money raised by taxation or by the sale of bonds for educational purposes or public works is too often used to pay an army and to buy ammunition for the suppression of a revolution. In one country four loans have been made for one and the same purpose during the last twenty years; and every dollar has been diverted. The roads are neglected, schools and public institutions are unsupported, and citizens who are fortunate enough to have a surplus invest it abroad, because they dare not engage in enterprises that may be interrupted by political disturbances."

In Salvador, which, although the smallest in area, is described by Mr. Curtis as "by far the richest, the most prosperous, the most enterprising, and the most densely populated" of the Central American republics, the same evil prevails:

"There is probably more politics in Salvador in proportion to the population than in any other country in the world; and while it appears in the geographies as a republic, it is really an absolute monarchy, ruled by a small group of politicians who maintain their power by military force and are overthrown as often as the opposition can form and carry out a conspiracy. There has not been a 'constitutional' president in Salvador for many years. The presidents have always been *pronunciamentos*—that is, they have come into

power by self-proclamation rather than through an election by the people according to law. This is so common that the people expect nothing else. I happened to land at La Libertad shortly after President Cleveland had been inaugurated, and was much surprised when the governor asked me whether he was a constitutional or a *pronunciamento* president."

WATER RIGHTS IN IRRIGATED REGIONS.

THE State engineer of Wyoming, Mr. Elwood Mead, contributes to the *Engineering Magazine* for March an instructive article on the adjudication of water rights in the West.

Eastern readers may be surprised by the statement that the expenses due to litigation over water rights are already greater in the United States than the total cost of building ditches and reclaiming land. If this is true now, we may well join with Mr. Mead in apprehension as to the future, when the water supply will have still greater value as the result of expanding settlement and increasing scarcity.

"California stands first among the arid commonwealths in the cost and perfection of ditches and in the skill and economy with which water is used. It also leads in the number and cost of water-right litigations. Water in that State is personal property. Those who do not want to appropriate it for use can appropriate it to rent or sell. There is no limitation on the volume which may thus be claimed. Water rights are located exactly as mining claims are, and the records of appropriations from a single stream, instead of being filed in one place, are divided between the several counties through which the river or its tributaries may flow. There is no special tribunal for the adjustment of these conflicting appropriations or system of administration when rights are once determined. There are extravagant rights acquired by appropriation, indefinite rights of riparian proprietors, and unknown rights based on Spanish and Mexican grants. Making of water personal property and recognizing its appropriation for the purpose of sale has made it a speculative commodity. It is largely owned apart from the land, and the tiller of the soil is at the mercy of the owner of the stream.

"I recently learned of a case where the litigation over a water right had occupied the courts for seven years. It stopped because the litigants were unable longer to pay lawyers' fees; but one of them informs me that as soon as he can afford it he will renew the contest. A single riparian proprietor has compelled the users of the stream on which he lives to pay him two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for his consent to their

using it. The users of water from Kings River have, all in all, paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to the riparian and other appropriators of that stream for the right to use its waters. Nor is their title thereto as yet secure. There are yet unused lands along that stream, and the riparian proprietors of these lands have a prior right to divert its waters."

Utah's comparative immunity from water litigation is not due, in Mr. Mead's opinion, to the excellence of the State laws, but rather to the influence of the Mormon Church in promoting the peaceful settlement of controversies. In that State, as in California, water is personal property. The same thing is true in Colorado, as decided by the courts, but Colorado provides for the State supervision of streams.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Mr. Mead argues for the perpetual public ownership of streams, the limitation of rights to water to the right of use, and the restriction of this right to the place and purpose for which it was originally acquired. Rights to water for irrigation should inhere in the land reclaimed.

"There is no more necessity for a court decree to establish a water right than for such a decree to confirm a land patent. Nor do the wisdom and efficacy of these reforms depend on the experience of other irrigated lands. For the past seven years they have been tested in the United States. They are all embodied in the irrigation code of Wyoming, and it is sufficient to say that during the entire period of their operation, which had its beginning with the adoption of the State Constitution, there has not been a single controversy or abuse due to the limitations imposed. On the contrary, the adoption of these restrictions ended scores of controversies and abuses. The only litigation over water rights which now occupies, or ever has occupied, the attention of the courts of that State or Territory has resulted from attempts to establish or enforce surplus or speculative rights in streams.

"There are two other provisions in European irrigation laws which, it is believed, will be found worthy of adoption. Under the present American system all appropriations of water are made in perpetuity, the appropriator receiving this as a free grant from the public. The subsequent supervision of the stream to protect this right is paid for by taxes. This is an illogical procedure. The public surrenders valuable property, for which it receives no direct return, and in doing so is compelled to shoulder a perpetual burden in the protection of that property. A better system would be to require each user of water to pay the State a rental therefor, these rentals to be very

small, intended only to meet the expenses of supervision and prevent the salaries of water commissioners from becoming a burden on the public. A great value of this system would be that it would promote economy. The man who has to pay for what he gets will not be wasteful. It also places the doctrine of public ownership in a form which can be understood by all. That is not true at present. The man who gets a free grant to the use of water in perpetuity comes in time to think he owns it, no matter what the laws or Constitution may say."

The second change based on European experience and advocated by Mr. Mead for American adoption relates to the period of the grants. Mr. Mead holds that these should never be made perpetual. "They should be treated as franchises and their operation restricted to a definite number of years. If rights to water were limited to fifty years, it would meet all the requirements of present development, and would enable the United States in the future to adjust their water laws to changing conditions. The present method may in time prove a serious obstacle to desirable or even necessary reforms."

TRIBUTES TO MISS WILLARD.

IN several of the reviews and magazines articles have appeared on the life and services of the late Frances E. Willard. Perhaps no one of these will attract more general attention than the brief tribute written by Miss Willard's intimate friend and associate in the World's W. C. T. U. work, Lady Henry Somerset, for the *North American Review*. We reprint a few paragraphs from Lady Henry's article:

"It is difficult sometimes to gauge, as we turn the pages of current history, what are the events and which are the lives that are making an indelible mark on our day. Only from time to time when some crisis arrests our thought do we begin to disentangle from the multitude of current events those salient features that stand out as special landmarks. I believe that when the record of the nineteenth century is read by those who can form truer estimates because distance will give a juster sense of proportion, the name of the woman who has just passed out from her field of work in this world will remain as one of those who molded the history of our time not only in America, but throughout the world. There is no other life to-day that could be so widely mourned, except the Queen of England, and the grief that will come to thousands of hearts when she has left us will be one less personal in character than the bereavement that has fallen upon tens of thousands of men and women

all the world over. When the news of Frances Willard's death was announced in the great city of London, no other name coming to us across the Atlantic would have been so widely known or so dearly loved. English newspapers are not as a rule enthusiastic, more especially about celebrities of other nationalities; but there has not been one single paper that has not recorded in its columns the life-work of Frances Willard and the irreparable gap that she has left in the ranks of philanthropists.

"It should be the pride of America that no other country could have produced her and no other age understood her, but it will be for future generations to realize what her life has meant to humanity. It is not because Frances Willard toiled for twenty years in the temperance cause that she is famous, not because she gathered round her an association of women more fully organized and with probably a stronger *esprit de corps* than any other woman's society in the world; but rather because she was a woman who saw ahead of her time, who realized that the evils that were round her must be grappled with by an entirely new conception of woman's responsibility to the world."

A MEMORABLE GREETING.

"We do not forget in England that to no other philanthropist did we ever give so warm a welcome. The great meeting at Exeter Hall that was held in her honor was probably the most representative gathering that has ever assembled to greet any great man or woman on that historic platform; and we are glad to know that we laid laurels at her feet while yet the homage could bring a smile to her face and the words of praise could still rejoice her heart. And now she has gone, and to us she has left her legacy of work—work that we dare not neglect, for still we know that 'eyes do regard us in eternity's stillness,' and we have learned our lesson from that womanly spirit whose words of sweet reasonableness have been spoken so often, whose many-sided arguments and loving pleas we will yet prove have not been 'love's labor lost.' Such lives are never ended, for their spirit lives on in the lives of others. Frances Willard felt that a woman owed it to all other women to live as bravely, as helpfully, and as grandly as she could."

The Noblest of Ideals.

Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson says in the *May Arena*, speaking of Miss Willard's career:

"It was indeed a prismatic, many-sided life. And whether we think of her as the prairie child, as daughter, sister, student, teacher, orator,

leader, reformer, it was on every side a white life, facing the sun and absorbing and reflecting the light."

"In her opinion the world belonged to women that they might comfort it, save it, help to redeem it and uplift its manhood into true sonship of God. In this work, as her divine mission, from first to last she unswervingly believed. For such saving and uplifting she battled in life and pleaded almost to the hour when pleading changed to praise.

"As the grand agency for the accomplishment of the elevation of mankind, she early appreciated the power of organization. No woman has to the same extent been the teacher of the higher principles of coöperative effort. Her educational work for the women of her day has no parallel in this direction. She was great in many ways, but in none was she greater than in the fact that she had the power to discern, to inspire, to educate, and to utilize the highest spiritual forces in other women. To her must be given credit largely for that waking of the women of our country to a knowledge of their own possibilities and powers that has marked the last quarter of a century. She worked after God's methods through humanity for humanity's sake."

CHILDREN'S INSURANCE.

IN the *Charities Review* for March and April there appears an interesting discussion of the subject of "industrial insurance," so called, especially as related to children's lives.

Mr. Haley Fiske, on behalf of the companies engaged in "industrial" business, gives in the March number the principal arguments in favor of that form of insurance.

To give some idea of the importance of the subject, the editor of the *Review* states that according to recent estimates there are "industrial" insurance policies now outstanding in this country to the value of \$1,000,000,000, all paid for in weekly sums averaging nine or ten cents each.

"This means that the poorer classes, largely in our cities, are paying out annually about \$40,000,000, probably for the most part in order that they may have at death what they consider a decent funeral, and perhaps something over to pay the doctors' bills. Provision for the family after the death or in the old age of the breadwinner may sometimes be in mind, but certainly not as a rule, for the policies taken average \$112, an amount which, even if it were not intended specifically for that purpose, would scarcely cover more than the death expenses of the insured."

A RESPONSE TO A NATURAL DEMAND.

In defending the practice of child insurance Mr. Fiske says:

"Child insurance is legitimate, because the people feel the need of protection against death. They abhor pauper burial. Their sentiment of respect for the body of a child is a Christian sentiment, a civilized sentiment; the wish for protection is a sensible business motive. To call it speculation because the child is a non-producer is a misuse of words, a confusion of ideas.

"It is said money is wasted on such insurance. Why wasted on children more than adults? The deaths are more numerous. Money is needed for burial in the one case as in the other. The relative cost is greater on account of the higher mortality. But how wasted? Did people save more before the advent of industrial insurance? Mr. Dryden, president of the Newark Prudential, in his address before the Massachusetts committee, conclusively showed by statistics that contributions to industrial insurance have grown side by side with increase of savings-bank deposits. What evidence is there that money not spent for insurance would be saved in other ways? The evidence is to the contrary. Would it not rather go for beer or ribbons or newspapers or fraudulent insurance? What more direct and persistent practical instruction in thrift could there be than the weekly call of an insurance agent?"

OBJECTIONS TO THE SYSTEM.

In the April number Miss Mary Willcox Brown represents the opponents of child insurance. As the experience of the companies shows that but 5.47 children out of 1,000 insured die at the age of ten years, and but 49.37 at the more tender age of two, Miss Brown holds that the contingency of death is too remote to justify the expenditure of the small sums so hardly collected by the parents.

"The industrial insurance companies claim, however, that the system is 'purely burial insurance at the earlier ages,' so that the premium for a child should not be looked on as an indemnity for 'the prospective value of its service.' If not, why should burial expenses be met by insurance rather than other more certain casualties of man's first ages, sickness or accident? If the charity worker could be as persistent and persuasive as the collector, might not he show that there are many unusual demands made on the purses of the poor which honest pride should make a man as anxious to meet as those of the undertaker? The need of fresh air in summer, to be had in all our cities at the expenditure of five or ten cents for car-fare, of more nourishing food in time of sickness, of a longer period given to education—

these and many more requisites can be pointed out as being more important than to meet the weekly demands of the premium collector. Though he say that five or ten cents a week means but \$2.60 or \$5.20 a year, yet when either sum is multiplied by the average number of children in a family the total is a considerable expenditure for a family of restricted means—an expenditure which should be regulated by the exercise of good judgment."

BURIAL EXPENSES VERSUS LIVING EXPENSES.

To the argument that "respect for the body of a child is a Christian sentiment" Miss Brown replies:

"Yes, and I honor every poor father and mother who is willing to provide a decent burial for a child. But if the desire for suitable burial be prompted by a false pride to appear to advantage in a neighborhood, or if the fear of not being able to provide a befitting funeral induces a parent to deny a little one, a living child, something which would add to its welfare, I say such a preparation for its possible death is not for the good of the child. Every one who is interested in the well-being of a child should try to show its parents that their duty is to provide rather for its present needs and, by giving as wisely and generously as is possible to its training, to lay the foundation of its future success."

CAR-FERRYING ON LAKE MICHIGAN.

THE new method employed in transporting railroad freight across Lake Michigan without "breaking bulk" is the subject of an article in *Cassier's Magazine* for April by Mr. A. S. Chapman, who describes the Lake Michigan car ferry as "an attempt to combine the carrying capacity of the freight steamer with the facility of the freight car for handling all classes of business, to wipe out the heavy charges involved in the frequent handling of commodities, and to utilize the natural highway offered by the lake."

"In former systems of railroad economy a car ferry had been regarded as a necessary nuisance, an expedient for bridging a gap of water, a connecting link between two lines of railroad. In the present system the positions are reversed; the railroad upon land becomes subordinate to the water line, and we have the innovation of a railroad whose bed is the waves of Lake Michigan, whose locomotives are steamers, whose cars are

towboats, and whose freight is cars. This car ferry is not designed as a connecting link between two lines of railroads nor as a terminal or transfer, but as a direct competitor for the business of railroads on their own terms.

"The conclusion that freight may be carried at a profit in this manner has been reached by a series of logical steps. The initial expense for towboats, transports, and docks is but a fraction of the cost of equipment of a railroad on land of the same length. Neither are there any fixed charges of interest on bonds nor any maintenance of right of way, with its corps of engineers, section men, switchmen, or other employees. There is little wear and tear on rolling stock, and there are no machine shops to keep up. The cost of repairs is reduced to a minimum. Few men comparatively are required to operate this marine railroad. Most of the dangers of land railroads are eliminated, and there are other compensating advantages.

TRANSPORTATION ON A LARGE SCALE.

"The transports are 324 feet in length and 46 feet beam. Twenty-eight cars of ordinary length make a load, in the aggregate about 1,500 tons. In general appearance, without their deck loads, the transports resemble nothing so much as huge canal boats. In loading and unloading a dock of special construction is, of course, necessary. The railroad tracks run from the shore upon a huge apron, from which the cars are shunted to the deck. Once in position, each car is carefully secured against the possible effects of rough weather.

"The towing steamer and its two transports form an impressive spectacle, suggestive of a marine caravan. The length of cable between the boats is 1,200 feet, and the steamer, the cables, and the transports stretch out to a distance of nearly two-thirds of a mile. A crew of fifteen men is carried on each of the steamers and of six on the transports. The only present means of communication between the boats is a code of whistles, but a telephone system may be devised."

Mr. Chapman also describes a mammoth steam vessel plying between Ludington, Mich., and Manitowoc, Wis., which is capable of carrying *between decks* thirty freight cars of standard size. This mighty craft is built with special reference to winter cruising, and is said to have a speed of ten miles an hour through fourteen-inch ice. Her length is 350 feet, beam 56 feet, and draught 17 feet.



THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY.

THE May *Century* has an interesting "popular scientific" article on "Submarine Photography," by Prof. Louis Boutan, who was the first person to make submarine photographs. The feat of making pictures of the bottom of the sea will be immensely facilitated when it will be possible to let down with the camera a powerful artificial light. Professor Boutan thinks that such an apparatus may succeed in satisfactorily photographing one hundred square meters of space. He also thinks that it will soon be possible to make photographs at any depth of water. It is scarcely necessary to suggest the value of such a scientific victory. The nature of the bottom of the sea, its vegetation, the interior of grottoes, animals caught and pictured in their homes, and especially the study of submerged shipwrecks, would make such a possibility very valuable and interesting to the world.

Mr. Franklin B. Locke writes on "Railway Crossings in Europe and America," with a strong advocacy of absolute abolition of grade-crossings; in other words, the separation of street and railroad grades. He says that one-third of all accidents to persons on English roads belong to grade-crossing casualties, although the greatest care is taken to minimize the risks at these dangerous points. In America scarcely any provision is made, and the result is that in the State of Massachusetts alone there are about half as many deaths from grade-crossing accidents as in the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. He says that by averaging the fatalities in Great Britain and Germany and comparing with the average for Massachusetts and Connecticut, the proportion is about 7 to 1 in favor of the foreign countries. Mr. Locke, in inquiring into the question as to whether the abolition of grade-crossings will pay, compares the facilities and the financial results of the English roads with those of the United States, and thinks that the money spent in doing away with these dangerous places will add so to the prosperity of the roads by increasing their facilities for handling business with greater economy that they can amply afford to spend the money. He says, too, that it is a mistake to boast of having the fastest trains in the world in this country—that is, on any sort of average. For if we compare the average time of the twenty-six fastest trains to and from New York on all of its twenty-six important roads, the result is only about forty miles an hour, against the average of forty-six miles an hour for fifty-four trains running to and from London.

Hon. Andrew D. White, United States Minister to Berlin and former Minister to Russia, has a brief character sketch of M. Pobedonostzeff, who is generally admitted to be the most important and influential personage in the Russian empire. Mr. White writes to oppose the English and American views that this great man was bigoted, cruel, and hypocritical. He has the fiercest enemies, but to Mr. White appeared a scholarly, kindly man, sensitive to art and especially to the beauties of religious literature, and, curiously enough, very much in love with American literature, studying constantly Hawthorne, Lowell, and above all Emerson.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE May *Harper's* contains an article by Julian Ralph entitled "Awakened Russia," which we have quoted from in another department.

Mr. E. S. Martin's light, shrewd, and pleasant touch is brought to bear upon "East Side Considerations." He begins his article with an approval of the impression of "an enlightened official of New York," who has said that the happiest people in the metropolis live on the East Side. Mr. Martin thinks that this may be very true. He admits that there are more people on the East Side than there ought to be, and that there is a good deal more dirt, although some streets are clean, for streets, and the children are clean, for children who play in the streets. It is good to read Mr. Martin's cheerful though entirely sympathetic description of the pleasures and customs of this great workaday population of New York City, after the harrowing tales which no doubt are necessary and right for the reformers. For Mr. Martin, familiarity with the Hester Street peddlers, the Italians, and the Polish Jews does not breed contempt; neither indifference, but rather increased interest. That the public of the municipality are not unmindful of the needs of washing, housing, and feeding this great collection of citizens is apparent to Mr. Martin from the signs of coöperation for public and private charity that are evident in eastern avenues and cross-streets. The public schools, big, substantial, and often handsome, still insufficient and all the time increasing, the churches, parish houses, libraries, kindergartens, vacation schools, dispensaries, college settlements, hospitals, fresh-air funds, and scores of other enterprises and establishments attest the persistence of the East Side in the public memory. Even without the outside aid Mr. Martin thinks this community can take care of itself. It harbors the greater portion of the manual workers of New York, "and the bulk of its great population is thrifty, industrious, self-respecting, and self-sustaining."

Col. William Ludlow, writing on "The Trans-Isthmian Canal Problem," rehearses the opportunities and difficulties of the proposed Nicaraguan and Panama canals, especially from the engineering point of view, with no final decision except that a thorough investigation and more accurate data are needed for the practical solution of the chief problems. The commission, acting under the act of June 4, 1897, is now making such investigation of the final plans and estimates. Colonel Ludlow thinks that within a year or two it will be possible to decide finally and accurately how the Nicaraguan Canal should be built, what it will cost, and which of the two great rival projects, Panama or Nicaragua, will be the first to get itself completed and "constitute the most notable achievement in the annals of engineering."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE May *Scribner's* gives twenty-four pages of heavily illustrated matter to a description of "Undergraduate Life at Wellesley," by Abbe Carter Goodloe. It is a very excellent description and gives

the best idea, perhaps, of the college-girl life at a typical American woman's college that we have seen.

Altogether the most fascinating feature of this number is the series of "Bicycle Pictures" by A. B. Frost, an artist who combines wonderfully with clever technique and the most voracious brush a thorough and true-blue instinct for sport in every form—not to speak of the inimitable dashes of humor that are apt to creep in everything he does with his pencil or brush.

Aside from these features *Scribner's* is chiefly occupied with the serials, Mr. Richard Harding Davis' story, "The King's Jackal," Thomas Nelson Page's novel, "Red Rock," and Henry Cabot Lodge's "Story of the Revolution."

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

THE *Cosmopolitan* publishes a chapter of a document purporting to be an autobiography of Napoleon, which was brought to America in 1817. The editor does not finally vouch for the authenticity of the document, and says that there are a number of points to be cleared up with regard to the history of it which make it desirable to say no more in regard to that history at present. Mr. Walker asks, however, if the new style and matter do not point to Napoleon; and if he did not write it, who could? The regular publication of the so-called autobiography will begin with the next issue of the *Cosmopolitan*. In this number appears a chapter dealing with the period which saw the organization of the continental system—a method which does not give the document the most favorable opportunity in the eyes of the reader. This is a sample paragraph:

"I had to become a legislator after having been a warrior. It was not possible to make the Revolution retrace its steps; for that would have been making the strong submit anew to the weak, which is unnatural. I had, therefore, to seize the spirit of the times and to form an analogous system of legislation. I think I have succeeded—the system will survive me; and I have left Europe an inheritance which can never be alienated."

Mr. John Brisben Walker, the editor of the *Cosmopolitan*, writes on "Motherhood as a Profession" in the series "On the Choice of a Lifework." He asks, Why should motherhood not be a profession, inasmuch as doctors and lawyers and teachers and clergymen fit themselves to have charge of human lives? Mr. Walker has the courage of his convictions, and he starts his professional career for the mother at once with the consideration of the selection of a husband.

Mr. Henry G. Hawn has an article on a very interesting subject, "The Voice in Conversation." He tells of the almost universal distortion of sounds that the average American is guilty of in his talk, and argues that there is just as much an art of every-day speech as there is an art of elocution; in fact, they are the same thing.

Mr. Walker announces that eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-four students have applied for registration on the rolls of his *Cosmopolitan University*. He prints a list of well-known American teachers, generally from the universities—Harvard, Bowdoin, Brown, Johns Hopkins, etc.—who are now connected with the departments in working order, and says that these departments are English, philosophy, ethics, pedagogy, science, citizenship, biology, modern languages, Greek, and Latin; while the departments so far unorganized are home economics, the arts, business preparation, and agriculture.

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

THE editors of *McClure's* show the courage of their editorial convictions in the May number by the reproduction of the first of a series of short stories written by Mr. John A. Hill that were printed many years ago in a railroad magazine. Mr. John A. Hill is a railroad man, unknown until now to literary fame. Mr. McClure has run across these stories in an obscure journal, and thinks so highly of them that they will be a prominent feature in the coming numbers of his magazine. This first one is not concerned with railroad matters, but is called "The Polar Zone." As literature it certainly lies over anything we have had from the arctic regions, and quite justifies the rather unusual editorial methods. The capital recital of adventure is illustrated with drawings which almost incline one to the opinion that it is worth while to illustrate works of fiction.

Mr. Cleveland Moffett, the journalist, has from the beginning of *McClure's* been a prominent feature in that magazine with his interviews of the people who have had picturesque or useful experiences. He reappears in this number with an interview with John Milne, the "observer of earthquakes." Mr. Milne's earthquake observatory is situated in the center of the Isle of Wight. "Here, on a quiet hill, grown over with old trees and banks of ivy, away from all rush and noise, Professor Milne may be found, as I have found him, working among strange instruments of his own devising, operated by clockwork and electricity, and possessing such sensitiveness that an earthquake shock in Borneo will set them swinging for hours." The results of the professor's observations in this station are so interesting and valuable that it seems certain that in a few months some twenty of these seismic stations will be put in operation in various parts of the globe, all of them equipped with the special instruments that this scientist has perfected for the tracing of earthquake phenomena. Professor Milne is confident that these observatories will make it possible to determine at once the precise location of any important seismic disturbance as soon as it occurs, as well as all the essential facts regarding it. "When it is born in mind," says Mr. Moffett, "that at present 75 per cent. of the whole number of earthquakes occur in the bed of the ocean, the value of such statistics to cable companies is at once apparent." The commercial value of this single department of the earthquake science is apparent when one sees that in the ten years preceding 1894, the cable companies spent three million dollars in investigating the fifteen breaks that occurred in the Atlantic cables alone. With the vast increase in the number of ocean cables that will occur in the next quarter century, the importance of Mr. Milne's observatories will be very great indeed.

The late Charles A. Dana's "Reminiscences" of the civil war are occupied this month with the march of Grant and his generals to Petersburg, the panic at Washington, and Early's raid on Washington. The magazine contains a number of fine portraits of Thomas Jefferson, with an introduction by Prof. Charles Henry Hart.

The chief literary feature of the number is a poem by Rudyard Kipling, entitled "The Destroyers," inspired by the thought of the gigantic force exerted by the torpedo in modern warfare. One can well imagine that Mr. Kipling would be enamored of such a subject and of "the strength of twice three thousand horse."

THE BOOKMAN.

THE May *Bookman* says that Mr. George W. Cable has gone to England, where he will stay for some time, giving readings during his visit, and that his novel, "The Grandissimes," will be republished by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. Most good judges consider this novel his best piece of work. Mr. Barrie will write an introduction. He is a great friend of Mr. Cable's.

Another piece of book news is that there is to be a satisfactory and authorized life of Madame Patti.

The *Bookman* says that it is true that the Messrs. Harnsworth will begin a new monthly magazine in London to be sold at six cents. Advertisers are being guaranteed a circulation of the first number of not less than half a million copies.

Mr. Henry W. Fischer writes on Abraham Lincoln, Ward Hill Lamon, and Eugene Field, from the standpoint of three men who loved children.

The article in the series on "American Bookmen" takes up this month Longfellow and Holmes. M. A. De Wolfe Howe is the author.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

MR. JAMES WEIR, JR., writes in *Lippincott's* for May on "The Faculty of Computing in Animals." He says that the quail lays some twelve or fifteen eggs, and seems to be aware of the fact that some of the eggs are missing when several have been removed from the nest. He gives many more egg instances of this sort of the different fowls, but there is a doubt about the reasoning in this case, for it is possible to find, probably, that the disturbance of the bird does not arise from the fact that she has counted the eggs and found some missing, but from the fact that she is aware, through some sense or senses, of the intruding human hand, and has an aversion to the despoiled home. A different case is with a mule that was employed by a Cincinnati street-railroad company in hauling cars up a steep incline. This animal was hitched in front of the regular team and unhitched as soon as the car arrived at the top of the hill. It made a certain number of trips in the forenoon and a like number in the afternoon, resting an hour at noon. As soon as the mule completed its fiftieth trip it marched away to its stable without orders from its driver. This certainly comes under the head of those matters which are important if true.

Eleanor Whiting, writing on "Woman's Work and Wages," states the theses, first, that it is not to the advantage of the average woman, new or old, to become a direct wage-earner, and, second, that it is not to the advantage of society that she should become a direct wage-earner. The writer claims a large amount of experience, and has come to the conclusion that matrimony is the most lucrative profession for women.

The novel of the month in *Lippincott's* is by Paul Laurence Dunbar, the young negro poet.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE May *Ladies' Home Journal* contains a very pleasant article by Josephine Robb on "Rip Van Winkle as He Is at Home." We always think of Mr. Jefferson as being very venerable, he has so long been dean of the American stage, but this writer tells us that he is only sixty-nine years old, and that if he lives to be

a thousand he will never be an old man. He married in March, 1851, when he was but twenty-two years old; his wife was Miss Margaret Lockyer. Of their six children four are now living. This writer says his family life is an ideal one, and the home, "Crow's Nest," at Buzzard's Bay, is one of the most beautiful spots in the world. Mr. Jefferson has an exceedingly sympathetic and well-trained sense of the æsthetic. He is an artist himself, as is well known, and has taken the greatest pleasure in gathering about him all the beautiful things that he could procure in the course of his many professional journeys.

There is an interesting page of pictures which tell the life of a trained nurse in the series of photographs taken especially for the *Ladies' Home Journal*. More "Inner Experiences of a Cabinet Member's Wife" appear, and there are contributions from Mr. Robert J. Burdette and Julia Magruder.

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

THE *National Magazine*, of Boston, is in the second number of its eighth volume and shows many signs of enterprise. In the May number there is an article by "Sara Crowquill" called "In London with Charles Dana Gibson," with some reproductions of Gibson's drawings of London subjects.

Caroline A. Powell contributes "Some Memories of Leopold Damrosch," which are interesting in their light on the beginning of real musical opportunities in America.

There is an article by Frederick De L. Booth-Tucker, entitled "Back to the Land," in which he describes the farm colonies of the Salvation Army. He says: "Without any effort on our part [referring to the Salvation Army] more than 1,000 families, consisting of 5,000 souls, have placed themselves at our disposal to be sent forth." It is well known that after the panic of 1873 some 4,000,000 of our population moved out of the cities of their own accord and took up land, starting some 250,000 new farms. The Salvation Army has made a small beginning in California with 100 souls, and another colony is under contemplation in Colorado.

Mr. Thomas W. Steep, described as a field correspondent, gives an interesting account of "A Cuban Insurgent Newspaper," published in a mountain print shop, under the title *El Cubana Libre*. The press is a Washington, of the date of 1854, a hand-press of the earliest pattern. The space cleared for the printing shop is overarched with palms and woodbine, and the woods are filled with parrots that keep up an incessant chatter. A small cave near the present office was the home of the paper before the hut was built. The editorial work is done at the base of the mountain. The editor, Ferrer, and his staff live at the base of the mountain, and the trail leading to the press is kept overgrown with brush and is frequently changed. The shop is quite the official printing office. Mr. Steep says he saw orders for printing from Gomez, Cisneros, and the various secretaries of the Cuban Government. The paper is circulated gratis in the ranks of the insurgent army.

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

THE indefatigable Mr. James L. Ford contributes to the May *Munsey's Magazine* an essay entitled "The Praisemongers," in which he "arraigns" the practice of indiscriminate and insincere commendation and

tells of its disastrous influence in all branches of art, and how flattery has ruined many a career that honest criticism would have helped.

Mr. George G. Bain gives some interesting facts about "America's Big Guns" and their manufacture, and there is a picture of a casting now being forged at Bethlehem Iron Works for a sixteen-inch rifle, the largest gun in the world. This will be sent to the Watervliet Arsenal for finishing and will be ready in 1899. Each shot from the sixteen-inch gun will cost the Government \$1,000. The gun will weigh 142 tons. It is not a question with such a rifle as this of penetrating armor; a single shot would smash in the side of a ship. This great gun will only stand about 500 shots at best, as it has a pressure of 20 tons to the square inch in the powder chamber, and it will take much less time to break up than to make.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

THE May *Atlantic Monthly* begins with the address of Richard Olney on the "International Isolation of the United States." We quote from it in another department.

Mr. Henry J. Fletcher discusses "Western Real Estate Booms and After," with no great pessimism aroused by the wholesale slump of values in the great West. The inflated values which collapsed in 1893 were to be looked for as the natural course of things, in Mr. Fletcher's opinion, with the rapidly spreading population over the vast fresh territory, nor does he consider that the hard times which succeeded the period of speculation are necessarily to be regarded as evils if they arrest evil tendencies. "The only means by which a wayward community can be turned back into the right path is the severe lashing of its individuals when they go wrong. Many of the most valuable results of hard times are reaped whether or not the people understand their causes and correctly interpret their lessons. The shifting of population during the last fifteen years is a good illustration of this principle."

Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., has an article on "The Dreyfus and Zola Trials," in which he inquires into the evidence on both sides in that riotous affair, and decides that all the facts known fall very far short of proving Dreyfus' guilt. On the other hand, he does not at all wish to make any affirmative proposition that he is innocent. Mr. Morse's only conclusion is that the affair remains an unsolved mystery, and this, he says, is the only charm of the incident. "If we knew as an absolute fact either that Dreyfus is guilty or that he is innocent, we should forget his case in twenty-four hours."

Prof. Hugo Münsterberg has an argumentative article on "Psychology and the Real Life," not very easy reading, and the more weighty essays of the number are rounded up by Mark H. Liddell's paper on "English Literature and the Vernacular."

THE ARENA.

IN the April *Arena* the Hon. William Jennings Bryan discusses the subject of "Foreign Influence in American Politics" in a brief and vigorous article, devoting attention chiefly to the dangers threatened by foreign syndicates of money-lenders and foreign investments in American securities, with the resulting interest of foreigners in our politics.

Another political article is contributed by the Hon.

George Fred. Williams, who enters the usual plea for free silver.

Mr. B. O. Flower writes on "Brookline: A Model Town Under the Referendum." Mr. Flower shows that Brookline is one of the most progressive of American municipalities, and that its business is conducted strictly on the referendum principle.

"It has been argued that the business of a city with a population of 10,000 or more would be cumbersome, that it would be impossible to carry it on expeditiously if all the people had a direct vote on all important measures; yet here this principle has been in practical operation for nearly two centuries without any inconvenience. Though the town has increased until its population is between 15,000 and 20,000, the work is so systematized that there is practically no more difficulty in carrying on the government expeditiously and satisfactorily than in the old days when the population numbered only hundreds."

The May number of the *Arena* opens with an article by Senator Stewart, of Nevada, on "The Great Slave Power," which being interpreted for the benefit of readers not familiar with the *Arena* vernacular means the modern money power—"Wall Street," the trusts, the "plutocracy" of the day. Senator Stewart's article is rather more rhetorical than Mr. Bryan's of the preceding month on essentially the same subject.

Mr. William Henry Johnson makes an interesting collocation of the opinions of representative thinkers of the day on the question of immortality.

Camille Flammarion writes a rejoinder to criticisms of his studies in occult phenomena published in recent numbers of the *Arena*.

The eulogy of Miss Willard, by Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, is noticed elsewhere.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

FROM the April *North American* we have selected Lady Henry Somerset's tribute to Miss Willard, John E. Redmond's "Ireland Since '98" and Lieutenant Duncan's "Reasons for Increasing the Army" for notice elsewhere.

Mr. Harry P. Robinson, editor of the *Railway Age*, writes on "State Regulation of Railways," frankly extolling the benefits which the railroads expect to derive from the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Nebraska rate case.

Miss M. E. J. Kelley contributes an interesting study of "Women and the Labor Movement." She says:

"The labor movement has always stood for greater educational opportunities for the workers, and this phase of the agitation is having its effect on working-women and on the home. Technical training, art education, the teaching of domestic economy, which are gradually being made a part of the public-school system, will have much to do with raising the standard of living. The club movement among women is teaching the value of organization and coöperation, is unconsciously broadening women's sympathies and breaking down false ideas and artificial barriers. The impetus toward all these things was given by the labor movement, and they are gradually bringing women into the labor movement."

Lieutenant Gibbons, U. S. N., writing on "The Great Lakes and the Modern Navy," sums up the situation as follows:

"1. The great lakes region has developed the iron and

steel industry to a degree that enables it to surpass all the rest of the United States in the important industry of shipbuilding.

"2. The improvements in canal-building make it only a question of time when this region will have a deep-water outlet to the sea.

"3. The result of this deep-water way will be the rehabilitation of our merchant marine and the creation of an extensive foreign trade carried in American bottoms.

"4. The expansion of our merchant marine will be followed necessarily by the expansion of the navy.

"5. The great lakes region is debarred by existing treaty relations from contributing material for naval warfare, but, containing as it does more than one-third of our entire population, the navy should, as a peace precaution, give immediate encouragement to the naval-militia movement in that part of the United States, thus developing a source of supply for the large increase in our personnel that war will render necessary."

Prof. John B. Smith defends Germany's exclusion of American fruits as fully justified by actual danger from the San José scale. Our own government publications and State and federal legislation seem to prove that such a danger exists.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Karl Blind gives an entertaining account of balloon voyages made from Paris during the siege of 1870-71; John P. Young writes on "The Decay of Cobdenism in England;" Dr. Langdon Kain relates some wonderful instances of longevity; and Sir William Howard Russell proceeds with his narration of civil-war recollections.

THE FORUM.

IN our department of "Leading Articles" we have quoted from the article by Mr. Curtis on the Central American republics, from Mr. Sidney Low's description of "The English Governing Oligarchy," and from Dr. William T. Harris' reply to the question, "Is There Work Enough for All?" appearing in the April Forum.

The introductory article of the number is a statement of "The Dangerous Demands of the Interstate Commerce Commission," by Mr. Milton H. Smith, president of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. The amendments to the Interstate Commerce law now before Congress, as Mr. Smith views them, propose to "give the commission the power to regulate, in the most complete and extensive manner imaginable, every detail of interstate railroad traffic; all such regulations to take effect without any resort to judicial tribunals for their enforcement, and, ordinarily, in spite of the pendency of proceedings of review in court."

In an article on England and France in West Africa Mr. Thomas Gibson Bowles, M.P., declares that the time is fully ripe for a settlement of the dispute and that the only danger lies in delay.

General Miles, in discussing "The Political Situation in Europe and the East," says of China:

"Here is a tempting field for the ambitious, both in a political and a commercial sense. And this field will be thoroughly explored with one of two results: (1) A combination of the great powers of Europe, resulting in a division of the Chinese empire—the strongest seizing the lion's share; or (2) a disagreement—much to be desired—among the powers as to this division, in which case the Celestial Kingdom would be allowed to work

out its own salvation. In the latter case the empire, stimulated to greater efforts, may eventually reach a high standard of civilization and development."

Mr. John M. Robertson exposes some of the fallacies in the commonly accepted opinion that genius is always superior to conditions, that fame is a sure test of genius, and that a preponderance of genius *per capita* proves a superiority in the race. He decides that "genius is conditioned economically, morally, and socially. Conditions which are partly favorable to it are seen to disappear by economic evolution even in an age of moral progress; and unless to the achieved moral and scientific progress be added a social science which takes intelligent heed of such changes, there may follow manifold retrogression."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Bruno Schrader, a leading Handel disciple, gives an account of the present Handel revival in Germany; Prof. Charles B. Bliss comes to the defense of modern experimental psychology against the attack on it made by Professor Münsterberg in the February *Atlantic*; Mr. Charles Upson Clark describes the great Finnish epic poem, the "Kalevala" and Prof. William P. Trent reviews some of the recent histories of literature.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for April is a good number—a very judicious mixture of politics, literature, and science.

Those who wish to know all about the British navy will find what they want in the article on "The Latest Reconstruction of the Navy," by Sir William H. White. No man in the world is better able to speak about the British fleet of to-day than the man who has practically built it. His article is a model of simplicity and lucidity. We shall not attempt to summarize it here, but merely quote one or two of the striking facts and figures with which it bristles. The total first cost of the fighting ships of the British navy as it stood in 1813, at the end of a long war with France, was £10,000,000. In 1860, just as the ironclad was beginning to come in, the estimated cost of the ships building and built was about £18,000,000. In 1878 the ironclad era had raised it to £28,000,000, and to-day it stands at £97,000,000. In the last eleven years, including ships built and completed, nearly 1,000,000 tons have been added to the navy, which, excluding cost of armament, represents an expenditure of £52,000,000. This is exclusive of torpedo-boat destroyers.

THE QUESTION OF DIET.

Sir Henry Thompson, whose name has been taken in vain as a great scientific authority in favor of vegetarianism, explains at some length his views upon the question of diet. He makes it clear that while he thinks that too much flesh is eaten, he is by no means a flesh abstainer. He puts his foot down in the following emphatic fashion upon the favorite doctrine of the vegetarians:

"The very idea of restricting our resources and supplies is a step backward—a distinct reversion to the rude and distant savagery of the past, a sign of decadence rather than of advance."

There is much in the article of general interest. For instance, he says, speaking of the best food for people who are advanced in life:

"Some persons are stronger and more healthy who

live very largely on vegetables, while there are many others for whom a proportion of animal food appears not merely to be desirable, but absolutely necessary. The question of diet as modified for man in advancing years may appropriately come here. During the term of middle life, when his activity is at its maximum, food may be generous in quality and in quantity, corresponding, of course, to the nature of the force expended. But in later stages of life highly nutritious animal food, especially when containing also much fatty matter, is for the most part very undesirable. When through age man's natural powers fail, so that, no longer capable of walking three or four miles an hour, he finds two or two and a half in one hour suffice to exhaust his forces, he must lessen the supply of proteids and fats."

SCHOOL GARDENS IN ENGLISH COUNTIES.

The Dean of Rochester in a review of Mrs. Earl's "Pot-Pourri" gossips pleasantly concerning gardens and gardening. In the course of his article he says:

"No more excellent work has been undertaken by our County Councils, notably by those of Kent and Surrey, than the establishment of school gardens at selected centers, to be cultivated in plots by boys of thirteen years of age and upward, under a local instructor; the encouragement of cottage gardening and allotments by the lectures and visits of qualified persons, by prizes awarded to successful culture, and by the organization, as at Maidstone and elsewhere, of schools of cookery."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* contains several articles of interest which are noticed elsewhere.

Professor Westlake, who has apparently been charged with the duty of drawing up a report on the questions at issue between England and France in the basin of the Niger, from the point of view of international law, sets forth his conclusions. His paper is judicial, and will irritate many Englishmen by the generous fashion in which he gives away the contention that the Say-Barua agreement should be interpreted so as to give the Say-Nikki-Busa triangle to Great Britain. But after passing in review the questions of hinterland, effective occupation, treaties with native potentates, and notification, he arrives at the conclusion that the British claims to Borgu are well founded. He says:

"It remains that the question about Borgu is whether England shall be dispossessed of places taken by her under a protectorate publicly notified at the time of its institution, and specifically notified to France before the attempt to dispossess her was made at Boussa. I cannot believe that the best mind of France will desire to pursue such a policy."

GERMAN RULE IN HELIGOLAND.

The writer of the article upon the "Balance of Power" says that the substitution of German for British rule has been by no means an unmixed blessing for the inhabitants of Heligoland:

"The picture of Heligoland as it now is—native populace forbidden to stand in groups; dancing and concert rooms only open twice a week; 2,000 natives superciliously treated by the police and military; bathing visitors coming across from Hamburg rarely and for days, instead of regularly and for months—all this (though Heligoland is not exactly a colony) is

typical of the German official's impracticable ideas, and contrasts sadly with the good old days when six unarmed British blue-jackets formed the sole 'force' of the island; when the town swarmed all the season with happy German families enjoying a whole summer's liberty; when the inoffensive inhabitants spent their lives in groups examining the sea with their telescopes, preparing the skins of sea-fowl, taking service as pilots, and enjoying absolute freedom."

IRISH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Edith F. Hogg and Arthur D. Innes are the joint authors of an article on "Irish Elementary Education." The account which they give of the neglected condition of the education of the Irish youth is discouraging. They say:

"The industrial regeneration of the country depends, first of all, upon the reform of its primary education. To raise this out of its present state of deplorable inefficiency and to convert rural opinion to seeing the necessity for a more enlightened system are the problems that face us."

The priests do their best to induce the children to attend school, but the average attendance is far below that of Scotland. In Scotland the average percentage of attendance is 80; in Ireland, 52.

"Although many of the children nominally remain at school until a far later age than is customary in England, they leave still unable to read with sufficient ease to enjoy reading for its own sake, to write a decent or intelligible letter, or to work out the simplest sum correctly. In 1881, 21.4 per cent. of the men and 23.2 per cent. of the women in Ireland who were married signed the register by their mark."

Notwithstanding the importance of agricultural education to a country which is one great farm, only 30 schools out of 8,555 have school gardens attached to them. The condition of the poor-law schools appears to be the worst of all, and is a scandal and a disgrace to the government and to the country in which such things are possible. The one bright feature in the article is the account of the Christian Brothers' Industrial School at Artane.

THE MANUFACTURE OF BICYCLES.

A writer signing himself "Duncans" discusses the present condition of the bicycle industry in an article which, although full of facts and figures, is full of very interesting reading. He points out how very heavily the trade has been over-capitalized, and deplores the centralization which has been the result of this policy of amalgamation. He looks forward to a time when a reaction will set in against this system, and when bicycles will be put together in the villages throughout the country. Nearly all the component parts of a bicycle are patented and made separately. Hence the business of a bicycle maker is eminently one which can be pursued by individual workers in the country districts. The more the trade is decentralized the greater care will be given to the careful fitting together of the parts in the individual machine. According to the statement of an English manufacturer, the best-made bicycle in the world ought to be put on the market at £13 2s. 6d. (\$65.50). How is it, then, that first-class bicycles are sold in England at £28? The answer is that the £14 17s. 6d. represents the advertising expenses, ordinary and extraordinary. In the latter are fees to influential directors and prizes given to racing men.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. J. A. Hobson describes "Mr. Mallock as a Political Economist." He maintains that "no one of the three cardinal propositions of Mr. Mallock's argument is valid. Ability and labor are not separable productive powers. Industrial progress is not attributable solely to the ability of a few. The labor movement does not aim at dispensing with ability of management."

Mr. Edmund Gosse writes pleasantly about Ferdinand Fabre, the novelist, who died just before he could take his seat in the French Academy, to which he had been elected. Mr. Gosse praises very highly his delineation of the French priest. M. Fabre, he says, understood the French clergy more intimately than any other author.

"Persuade him to speak to you of these, and you will be enchanted; yet never forget that his themes are limited and his mode of delivery monotonous."

Mr. W. R. Lawson writes about "India on a Gold Basis," and Mr. E. Stewart describes crocodile-shooting in India, compared with which rat-catching in sewers would seem to be positively fascinating.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE article entitled "Where Lord Salisbury Has Failed," in the April *Fortnightly*, is noticed elsewhere.

Mr. Stephen Gwynn, writing on "The Posthumous Works of Robert Louis Stevenson," maintains that "Weir of Hermiston," the romance which he left unfinished, is the greatest of all his achievements. Mr. Gwynn says:

"The world, which does not care about fragments, will not often read 'Weir of Hermiston,' but for artists it will remain a monument. Only this is to be said, that enough of it is left to be a high example—enough to prove that Stevenson's lifelong devotion to his art was on the point of being rewarded by such a success as he had always dreamed of; that in the man's nature there was power to conceive scenes of a tragic beauty and intensity unsurpassed in our prose literature, and to create characters not unworthy of his greatest predecessor."

INSURANCE SOCIETIES FOR WOMEN.

The Rev. J. Frome Wilkinson describes the results that have been attained by the "friendly" societies that have been established by women in England. The salient feature of all the statistics which have been quoted by Mr. Wilkinson is that women need to pay on an average 28 per cent. more than men to secure the same benefits. He says:

"It is evident that the practice of allowing women to insure for a sick benefit and charging them in accordance with male rates is very unsound. If a friendly society for women is to be established on a firm financial basis, it must charge its members contributions which will cover the liabilities those members bring. Till the last year or two, with the exception of a few Rechabites and Abstemious Sisters of the Phoenix, the great male affiliated or federated orders uniformly declined to admit females into their ranks and to open lodges and courts for women. The old order has, however, at length given way to new. The Ancient Order of Foresters was the first society to throw open its

doors to women and to establish female courts of the order."

WAR BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. F. T. Jane, in an article entitled "The 'Maine' Disaster and After," discusses the probable issue of a conflict between the navies of the United States and Spain. His calculations are interesting, and may be read with advantage even by those who do not share his belief that a series of Spanish successes would result in breaking up the American republic into two or three fragments. Mr. Jane says:

"To hold her own Spain must be prepared for a long fight, and one in which guerrilla tactics will be best. She can only beat the American battleships at the cost of all, or nearly all, her own chief units, and America would still be left with a formidable coast defense squadron of ironclads. If wise, she would steadfastly avoid any general action (unless both Argentina and Brazil were with her) and confine herself to a dragged-out campaign, not seeking to effect any grand coup, but making isolated efforts with her two best ships and the minor craft; recognizing that these last would eventually be destroyed. The present spirit of Spanish sailors is favorable for such efforts. It is the people and towns upon the American coast that it will best pay Spain to damage."

THE UTILITY OF WAR CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. M. MacDonagh in an article entitled "Can We Rely on Our War News?" pleads in favor of official recognition of the utility of war correspondents. In the war of 1870 the Germans admitted correspondents freely, while the French refused them all access to their armies. In the Russo-Turkish war the Russians gave the correspondents privilege in position. In the present Egyptian campaign the Sirdar seems to have done his best to deprive the public of the advantage of war correspondents. Mr. MacDonagh says:

"But the public are not likely to tolerate an unreasonable attempt on the part of the War Office to hamper the enterprise of the war correspondents on the field of action. The tardy, meager, incomplete, and cold official reports of the operations of our armies in the field, published weeks and often months after the event, will not satisfy the public. They will insist on having early and vivid and independent newspaper accounts from the seat of war. Indeed, it is astonishing how the War Office can fail to see that these war correspondents' graphic pictures of disasters, as well as victories, help, by the stirring of the patriotic sentiments and love of adventure in our youths, to man the services."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

IN our department of "Leading Articles" we have quoted from the articles on Russian policy in the *National Review* for April.

In discussing the possibility of Lord Salisbury abandoning one of his two offices, the editor expresses somewhat vehemently his conviction that the House of Commons will not stand another premier in the House of Lords:

"It is common knowledge that on more than one occasion since the formation of the Unionist alliance in 1886 Lord Salisbury has sought to intern himself in the Foreign Office, leaving the supremacy of the premier-

ship to the Duke of Devonshire, who has consistently, loyally, and wisely declined this attractive offer. There has latterly been a recrudescence of some such solution among political gossips. The Conservative party are not governed by any petty prejudice against a Liberal Unionist, but there is a strong and general feeling that if, at any time, the premiership is transferred from Lord Salisbury—an event that would be deeply deplored—it should pass, not to another peer, but to a commoner. It is now several years since the House of Commons has contained a premier—Mr. Gladstone having been the last. The House of Commons would be asked to face, but would refuse to face, a permanent disappearance of the premier from their midst if the Devonshire plan were adopted. Commoner should succeed peer as peer may succeed commoner. We devoutly hope that Lord Salisbury will not be moved to relinquish the premiership. Should he do so, his only possible successor at the present juncture is the leader of the House of Commons—Mr. Balfour."

PROFESSOR VAMBERY ON BRITAIN AND HER RIVALS.

Professor Vambery writes an article on "Great Britain and Her Rivals in Asia." Taking the standpoint of a European anxious to see European culture promoted in Asia, he discusses the comparative merits of Great Britain and her three rivals, France, Russia, and Germany. He thinks the three allies have not much chance of success, nor will they be able to do the work which Britain is doing until their national character has been ripened by the sun of political freedom. Not until then will they be able to struggle against the overwhelming superiority of the country which, with all its faults, is still the truest representative in Europe of the aims and endeavors of the nineteenth century.

WHAT TOMMY ATKINS WANTS.

The writer of the article on "The Army as a Career" thus sums up the nine reforms which he thinks should be introduced in order to make the lot of the private soldier in the British army more attractive than it is at present:

- "1. Trained soldiers to receive a higher rate of pay than recruits.
- "2. An annual issue of 'necessaries' and a more liberal allowance of clothing.
- "3. The promotion of N. C. O.s to run through both battalions of a regiment, and when N. C. O.s accompany drafts abroad, the returning troop-ship to bring back an equal number of N. C. O.s to the home battalion.
- "4. The stoppage for 'washing, marking, hair-cutting, and library' to be totally abolished.
- "5. 'Fatigue duties' to be performed only by men under punishment.
- "6. 'Hospital stoppages' to be abolished, except where a soldier is under treatment for disease occasioned by his own misconduct.
- "7. The cost of discharge by purchase to be reduced with each year's service.
- "8. Reservists to be permitted to rejoin the colors at any time, without being required to refund their 'deferred pay.'
- "9. A reservist's liability to be 'called up' to be in inverse ratio to his period of service in this force."

THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTION.

Mr. C. A. Whitmore, M.P., writing on "Our Defeat and Some Morals," gives a plain hint to Lord Salisbury that his attack on the county council did a great deal to lose the election. Mr. Whitmore says:

"The lesson is unmistakable. May it be hoped that those in high places will in the future understand that the general opinion of London on London questions is not to be gathered in West-End clubs, and perhaps not even from political organizers, who are not generally interested in its municipal life or the working of its local institutions."

There are other morals which Mr. Whitmore brings forward. One is that the Moderate members of the county council would do well to stick more to their work instead of leaving the Progressives to put in most of the attendances on committees. Also, he dryly remarks, the character of the Moderate candidates might be improved with advantage. In many cases at the last election the Moderate candidates were evidently thinking more of politics than of sober municipal work. Mr. Whitmore thinks that the defeat of the engineers stimulated the trades unionists to revenge themselves upon the party of the capitalists. Mr. Whitmore does not despair, but he exhorts the government to lose no time in bringing in its municipal bill.

THE CZAR OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

Newfoundland, says the writer of the "Colonial Chronicle," "being weary of self-government, has decided to deliver itself bodily to a contractor, for we are told that 'Mr. Reid, the railroad contractor, has concluded an agreement with the Newfoundland government to take over and operate the entire railroad system of the colony for fifty years for a subsidy of 2,500 acres of land per mile. Mr. Reid pays \$1,000,000 now, which at compound interest in fifty years amounts to \$7,000,000. At the end of that period he will own the road. If he fails to fulfill the contract the money and road will be forfeited to the colony. Mr. Reid buys the St. John's dry dock for \$320,000 and brings his workshops there and operates the dock. He also builds a new railroad to Topsail, a distance of fifteen miles, for \$100,000, and a terminus at the dock. He builds seven new steamers, one to ply to Labrador and on the six largest bays of Newfoundland, at a subsidy of \$90,000 per annum. He takes over the government telegraph lines at a subsidy of \$12,000 per annum for seven years, when the Anglo-American monopoly expires, then to operate free, and give a uniform tariff of 25 cents all over the island for ten words. He operates in new coal areas and pays a royalty of 10 cents per ton. He builds an electric railroad in St. John's for \$140,000 and repairs the Whitbourne Railway for \$100,000. This offer passed the House of Assembly by 26 votes to 6, and had been signed by the governor—apparently after some hesitation—and the capacious contractor. "Its completion" is reported to cause "great rejoicings and meets with universal approval."

The Rev. Anthony Deane in an article on the religious novel, after preliminary denunciation of Marie Corelli, devotes the rest of his article to criticising Mr. Hall Caine's "Christian." Prof. Harrison Moore, of Melbourne, writes on "Constitution-Making in Australia."

THE FRENCH AND GERMAN REVIEWS.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE two March numbers of the *Revue de Paris* are exceptionally interesting from every point of view, but it is significant that absolutely no notice of the Zola case is taken by two of the three leading French reviews.

In the first number M. Liard contributes an interesting analysis of Jules Simon. Like another remarkable Frenchman who certainly influenced to a rare degree his generation, Jules Simon was a Breton by birth, and came of pious, God-fearing people. Unlike Renan, however, he always remained true to his early beliefs and impressions, and yet during his long life he was consistently liberal, holding almost socialistic views as to what should be the laws affecting the working classes of his own and of other countries. Like many Englishmen belonging to the same generation, Jules Simon was inclined to pin his whole faith on the supposed benefit accruing from a universal and comprehensive scheme of education. "The people who rejoice in the possession of the best schools and teachers," he once wrote, "will play a leading part in the world, if not to-day, then to-morrow." It need hardly be said that he was a strong advocate of compulsory and gratuitous education, and he labored hard, on the whole with success, to introduce into French schools a larger measure of physical exercise, better hygienic conditions, and some practical knowledge of foreign languages.

Another biographical article, contributed by D. Halévy, proves how great a place "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has won among continental readers.

A vivid account of the battle of Solferino and of the events which immediately followed is extracted from a forthcoming volume of recollections by General Fleury. These letters, addressed by the general to his wife, give a very clear and striking picture of what went on behind the scenes, and from that point of view form a valuable addition to the diplomatic history of the 60s.

STATE-SUPPORTED THEATERS IN GERMANY.

M. Carré contributes an amusing and exhaustive description of the German and Austrian theatrical world. As was natural, what most struck him as a Frenchman was the extraordinary discipline which apparently reigns in each German theater, where the spirit of militarism seems to have penetrated beyond the footlights. Everything is foreseen, the discipline is perfect, and in most cases the principal theater of a town is under direct royal or municipal patronage. Early in the century the same might be said of most of the Paris theaters; now the *Grand Opéra*, the *Théâtre Français*, and the *Odéon* alone depend in any way on the state. Every German Grand Duchy has a state-supported stage. The King of Saxony spends \$120,000 a year on the two principal Dresden theaters. The Regent of Bavaria spends exactly the same amount on the two Munich theaters, and the German Emperor, in his quality as King of Prussia, is compelled to pay out \$100,000 a year to the individual who manages theatrical matters at Wiesbaden, while the great theater at Stuttgart, managed by Baron Puttitz, enjoys a royal subvention of \$60,000 a year. Even the Grand Duke of Hesse is compelled to pay out \$50,000 a year to his theatrical intendant, Herr Werner.

It is probably owing to this curious state of things that Germans of all ranks and conditions so constantly go to the theaters. The best places are low-priced, six marks being an exception, and when a place is subscribed for by the month or by the year, the subscriber witnesses each performance at an almost nominal cost. Owing to the system of national subvention, each German taxpayer considers himself personally aggrieved if the local theater is not up to a certain standard of excellence, and certainly it cannot be denied that the German stage justifies its maintenance at a comparatively large cost. In one year the Berlin theater produced 60 different works, 52 operas, and 8 ballets; the Grand Theater of Frankfurt changed the bill 88 times during the same period, and at Karlsruhe the programme was changed 97 times, there being produced in the course of twelve months 47 operas, 49 comedies, and 1 ballet. Dresden, however, can proudly point to a unique record, that of having produced at the two state theaters 163 completely different pieces, 56 operas, 5 ballets, 4 oratorios, 12 dramas, 36 comedies, and 49 farces. The theatrical and musical literature of the whole world is laid under contribution to produce this result, and every German dramatic author is sure of a hearing.

THE GENESIS OF THE TANNHAUSER LEGEND.

M. Paris, a distinguished folk-lorist, devotes some space in the second number of the *Revue* to the analysis of the Tannhauser legend. He gives several variations of the legend immortalized by Wagner, and he also alludes to the many modern writers who have adapted the most dramatic story, notably Heine and Hoffmann. The first complete history of the knight Tannhauser and of his sojourn in the Venusberg was told in German verse in 1453, and this poem was considered by Heine to be as fine in its own way as the Song of Songs. There was in the thirteenth century a *meisteringer* who was actually called Tannhauser, and who seems to have been a kind of mediæval Verlaine, famous alike for his license and his piety, and no doubt his personality in time became legendary and suggested the well-known mythical story. An Italian variant lays the scene near Rome, the Venusberg being one of the Sibylline Mountains.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THE two March numbers of Madame Adam's periodical have more in them than usual, though no article calls for very special remark, and, following the example of the *Revue de Paris*, not a word is said in criticism of the Zola trial.

Those about to visit the Riviera, intent on business or pleasure, will find much that is both amusing and instructive in old Prince Valori's two articles on Nice. The Prince, who was one of the best-known figures of the cosmopolitan society which spends so great a portion of each year in the south of France, first made his home in the town just forty years ago, long before the French annexation. "The English or the Germans," observes the Prince, "would have created an industrial center; we made our new possession into a watering-place. Still, since the annexation the population has trebled, and owing to a variety of circumstances the

town has become one of the wealthiest centers of continental life."

Among other royal personages who early discovered the charms of the French Riviera was Louis of Bavaria, the gallant old King who twice risked his life to save the worthless Lola Montez against his justly incensed people and the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, the grandfather of the Princess of Wales.

During many years one of the most notable patrons of Nice was Lady Caithness, who, according to this her latest biographer, was by turn a Jewess, a Mussulman, a Brahmin, a Buddhist, and a Parsee. Be that as it may, she certainly considered herself the final incarnation of Mary Stuart; but though all the world was always ready to laugh at her eccentricities, she was a woman of real power, and when she gave up her villa at Nice she was very much missed.

In an interesting article concerning the many attempts to solve the secret of the north pole, the writer, M. Roussin, after devoting a certain space to past expeditions, gives an account of the balloon expedition about to be organized by a French aeronaut, Louis Gogort. This inventor, together with a friend, M. Surcouf, a descendant of the famous admiral of that name, is not in any sense an imitator of the ill-fated Andrée. The plan of the two explorers is to approach as near as they can to the north pole with the help of an ordinary vessel. Once there they will each ascend in a balloon, trusting to chance to blow them where they wish to go. Nansen claims to have come within four hundred and twenty miles of the north pole, and according to M. Gogort, had the *Fram* carried a balloon, he might quite conceivably have actually passed over the pole with but very little extra risk.

THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN PARIS.

All those concerned with the protection of children should read M. D'Almeras' admirable article detailing the French methods of dealing with the difficult problem which Mr. Benjamin Waugh has done so much to solve. The new divorce laws have greatly complicated the question in France, for it seems to be really difficult to persuade a French couple, once the decree absolute has been pronounced, that they are still morally and legally bound to look after their children.

The Paris municipality recognizes that it has certain duties to the children born in the great city, and though there is no workhouse system in France, the question of pauper children is not neglected, and in 1894 eight millions of francs were spent on the forty thousand pauper children wholly dependent for education and sustenance on the state. An elaborate boarding-out system has been formed, the most practical way of dealing with the problem, and works fairly well, inspectors going round the various farms and cottage dwellings and paying frequent surprise visits, in order to see that the children are kindly treated and well looked after by their foster fathers and mothers. The French Society for the Protection of Children, which was started some years ago by Mesdames Barran and Kergomard, is armed with considerable legal powers and has the absolute right to take complete charge of the children of drunkards. Thanks to their efforts, that wretched blot on French civilization, the Children's Prison—"La Petite Roquette"—will soon be replaced by a reformatory at Montesson. The French writer declares that in Canada and the United States the protection of children is really intelligently organized.

A LADY ON KLONDIKE.

Mrs. Matilda Shaw contributes an excellent and interesting account of the various roads to Klondike, and unlike many who have made "copy" out of this new Eldorado, Mrs. Shaw seems to have really been there, and she gives a very vivid account of the rough-and-ready justice of Dawson City. She pays a high tribute to the kindness and courtesy of the rough miners to all those women whom duty or a spirit of adventure bring to Klondike, and, on the whole, she gives an encouraging picture of the gold country.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

WITH the exception of Captain Reynaud's paper in the second March number on the bump of locality, as it may perhaps be called, in animals, the *Revue* for March is not, it must be confessed, particularly interesting.

M. Lévêque's article on the French School of Archaeology at Athens, in the first March number of the *Revue*, is really, though it is not of course intended to be, one long reproach to the indifference of successive English governments. For while the French school at Athens has always, or almost always, been able to rely on state support, it is well known that the British school has had to trust to the generosity of private subscribers and to the already overburdened resources of the great universities. This is not creditable to a country which has for centuries kept alight the flame of Greek learning.

THE IRON IN US.

M. Dastre continues his interesting series of articles on the presence of iron in all kinds of living creatures. Much of his paper is extremely technical, but some curious and perhaps not very well-known facts may be noted. For instance, the liver is the organ in the superior animals which is most concerned with iron, and, singularly enough, it does not place all its iron at the disposal of the blood, but seems to keep a private stock of the metal for its own enjoyment. Thus a baby at the moment of its birth possesses an enormous reserve of iron in its liver, three or four times as great in proportion as the amount to be found there in an adult. This is really a beautiful provision of nature, for the milk which forms the staple food of infants contains a very inadequate supply of iron.

THE BUMP OF LOCALITY IN ANIMALS.

To the second March number Captain Reynaud contributes an interesting paper on the extent to which what we call the bump of locality is found in various animals. As the result of long observation he has come to the conclusion that most four-footed creatures live from choice in a somewhat circumscribed area; thus a stag, when being chased, will turn round within an invisible circle, however large be the forest or park where it is being hunted. On the other hand, take a stag away from its own surroundings and cart it to a new part of the country, and it will, as a rule, make straight away, presumably in the hope of finding its way home.

Horses have a very strong bump of locality. Put the reins on your horse's neck and he will invariably turn round and make his way home by the road he has already traversed to his stable. It is a curious fact that no horse takes a short cut home; he will always retrace as exactly as may be his own steps, and this even in a district of which he knows every road and by-path.

Of course pigeons and cats seem to possess a quite exceptional instinct for "homing." Pussy has been known to make her way back to her old quarters a distance of eighty miles. It has been ascertained that swallows follow year after year exactly the same aerial route, and this, incredible as it may appear, almost to a yard. Thus the same bird will start from the same tree in, say, Dover, will rest on the same roof in Dijon, and take up his winter residence on exactly the same spot in Egypt as he and his forbears did before him; and just as sailors follow an invisible but none the less clearly defined pathway across the sea, so swallows appear to have a clearly traced route through the atmosphere.

This instinct, or sixth sense, as the French writer prefers to call it, is not entirely confined to animals. The red Indians were and are famous for their path-finding qualities; and in China, when a great noble goes hunting in wild and little-known regions, he takes with him a Mongolian, secure that the latter will be able to guide him home, however far they may stray.

THE ZOLA CASE.

M. Brunetière alone has the courage to reopen the Zola controversy. In an article entitled "After the Trial" he may be said to sum up the general view of his countrymen on the case—namely, a deliberate condemnation of Zola and his methods of striving to obtain a revision of the Dreyfus court-martial. The editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* waxes very bitter over the sympathy Zola evoked among the "intellectuals"—in other words, among the more advanced thinkers of the country. "Because they know things we do not know," he cries angrily, "we give them credit for knowledge they do not possess. . . . Finding them so certain when we should hesitate, we are apt to believe that they have reasons for this confidence in their own judgment. This is not so; and when further they try to finally convince us by evoking the scientific method and spirit, it is then that the danger of their pretensions increases." The writer's references to Protestants, Jews, and Free Masons will not be received with any liking by his English-speaking friends. M. Brunetière laments the general decadence of his country, which it is clear he attributes in a great measure to the republican form of government.

OTHER FRENCH REVIEWS.

THE *Revue des Revues* is now quite an independent review—that is to say, its contents are made up of original articles. In the number for March 1 attention may be drawn to the article on the exile of Ranavalona, the last Queen of Madagascar, contributed by Jean Carol; a sketch of Werner von Heidenstam, a Swedish writer, by Jacques de Coussanges; "Molière in Hungary," by Prof. J. Kont; "The Marvels of Grafting in Surgery," by Jean de Loverdo; and "Ludwig Windell, a German Spy in France," by G. Saint-Aubin. In the number for March 15 Henry Bérenger writes on "Religion and France;" Eugène Müntz on the occultism (?) of Leonardo da Vinci; and Raoul Deberdt on George Sand and her grandmother, Marie Verrière. The articles "How Greece was Betrayed" and "The Life and Death of Gracchus of Naples," by Charles Simond, appear in both numbers. This list of important articles, though by no means complete, will give some idea of the amount of original matter in the *Revue*.

Illustrations are rather the exception than the rule in

the French reviews. The *Monde Moderne*, ever since it was started, has made its illustrations a leading feature. The interest of the two descriptive articles on Copenhagen and the city of Constantine and its ravines in Algeria in the March number is greatly enhanced by the pictures.

The *Revue Encyclopédique* is another French publication which pays considerable attention to its illustrations.

For some months the *Revue Générale* has been giving a series of papers on Italian painting by Arnold Goffin, illustrated by phototypes after the Italian old masters. In this way there have been interesting studies of Siennese art and the art of Pisa. Pisa is concluded in the March number, and the phototypes are from the frescoes of Gozzoli.

The March number of the *Monde Moderne* has an article on the *Chout*, a Russian periodical, written in Russian and in French. It was founded about twenty years ago, but its present shape is quite new, and the director or editor, M. R. Golické, seems to have gathered round him a number of excellent artists.

What with economic reviews and articles on economic subjects in the general reviews, the bulk of the contents of the French periodicals might well be classed under the head "Political Economy." We have the *Réforme Sociale* appearing twice a month; the *Humanité Nouvelle*, the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, the *Revue d'Economie Politique*, the *Revue Socialiste*, the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, the *Journal des Economistes*, all monthlies; and the *Annales de l'Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques*, appearing every two months. In the February *Humanité Nouvelle* and the March *Revue Socialiste* Mr. Tom Mann has articles on the recent dispute in the English engineering trade. Of the other reviews which pay considerable attention to economic and social problems the *Association Catholique*, the *Correspondant*, the *Université Catholique*, the *Revue Générale*, and the *Revue du Monde Catholique*, all Catholic monthlies, are worthy of mention. Some very valuable articles are published in these reviews. There is also an excellent weekly, the *Monde Economique*.

THE GERMAN REVIEWS.

ONE of the most interesting articles in the German reviews this month is Georg von Plenker's study—some fifty pages in length—of Beatrice Cenci, which appears in the March number of *Nord und Süd*. The story of Beatrice Cenci, "the beautiful parricide," is probably best known in connection with Shelley's tragedy and the alleged portrait by Guido Reni; but Bertolotti has endeavored to prove that the famous picture in the Barberini Gallery at Rome could not have been painted by Guido. This, however, does not deter crowds of enthusiasts and artists with easels from almost barricading the way to the little picture. Georg von Plenker suggests that Guido may have chanced to be in Rome on the day of the execution, and have been one of those who witnessed the procession of the condemned to the scaffold. He may then have made a rough pencil sketch of Beatrice's beautiful face, and have completed the picture some years afterward. In like manner David, the French painter, made his frightful pencil sketch of Marie Antoinette as she was being led to the guillotine.

A similar cloud of doubts hangs over the history of

Beatrice. The biographers of the popes, as well as the newspaper correspondents of the time, say little about the case, and it is not till one hundred and fifty years later that Muratori publishes his annals of Italy with a more detailed account. His narrative remained the accepted one till the beginning of the present century, when several manuscripts came to light representing the father in a distinctly unfavorable light. Enough; here was material for poets! Shelley's drama appeared in 1819, and Niccolini, the Italian dramatist, followed with another. Byron considered the story better adapted to fiction, and Marie Henri Beyle ("Stendhal") published a list of the numerous romances founded on the story. Nor has Nietzsche been behind in the matter. In his psychological study of the Cenci he professes to have had access to hitherto unknown documents.

The most important of the new Cenci literature is Guerrazzi's novel (1854), a picture of hatred of the Pope and enthusiasm for freedom and humanity. The book had such an enormous success that clerical scholars were induced to take up the subject in defense of the Church, and several works were produced with varying success, till Bertolotti's great work on Francesco Cenci and his family made its appearance in 1877. Bertolotti, who defends the father rather than Beatrice, says that in his investigations he has consulted thousands of documents; but Georg von Plenker is of opinion that these documents represent only one side of the case, and he complains that though three centuries have elapsed since the great tragedy was enacted, the Church is still very shy about permitting access to its archives relating to this question.

FERDINAND FREILIGRATH.

In the March number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* Dr. Julius Rodenberg begins another chapter of reminiscences with the first installment of an article devoted to Ferdinand Freiligrath, the German poet. Freiligrath was born at Detmold in 1810; in 1838 he published his collected "Poems," and was granted a pension. In 1844, when he was drawn into the revolutionary movement, he wrote his "*Glaubensbekenntniss*," or "Confession of Faith," and gave up his pension on account of his democratic opinions. He fled first to Belgium and in 1846 to London, and in 1848 he published his revolutionary poems "*Die Revolution*" and "*Februarklänge*." These did not prevent his being included in the amnesty of March 19, and he returned to Germany to publish another poem, "*Die Todten an die Lebenden*" ("The Dead to the Living"). For this he was impeached, tried, and acquitted, but in 1851 another prosecution caused him to take refuge in London again, where he remained till about 1868. He died at Cannstadt in 1876. It was as a boy of fourteen that Dr. Rodenberg, through a sympathetic teacher, first came under the spell of Freiligrath's poems, and by 1848 Freiligrath was the poet of his heart. But Dr. Rodenberg had to wait till 1856 to make the personal acquaintance of the poet, who was then an exile in London.

ANTON VON WERNER.

The March *Deutsche Revue* contains a number of articles of general interest. Ottomar Beta, who writes on Anton von Werner, the German military and historical painter, records many of the artist's views on art gathered from conversations with him. Werner, who is now fifty-five, is also well known as a writer on art, and he is a musician of no mean order. At Versailles, in the campaign of 1870-71, he would often play on the 'cello the Bach-Gounod "*Ave Maria*" in the headquarters of the Crown Prince. He has the most delightful remembrance of the quartette evenings of Berlin, when, with Karl Becker, E. Teschendorff, and T. Rehbaum, he played quartettes once a week for nearly twenty years. Later, Frau L. Knaus, the pianist, joined the music party, and with the additional assistance of P. Meyerheim, Reinhold Begas, Kapellmeister Radecke, and others, the musicians made themselves familiar with most of the chamber music, ancient and modern, that had been written. The meetings took place every Thursday, and each member took it in turn, German fashion, to have the "evening" at his house.

THE ELZEVR "REPUBLICS."

The *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* for March contains an interesting article, by Georg Frick, on the Elzevir family of printers, publishers, and booksellers, with special reference to the series of "*Petites Républiques*" issued from their press. Louis Elzevir (1540-1617), the founder of the house, opened a small book shop at Leyden, near the university, and the first book which he published was an edition of Eutropius, the Latin historian, edited by P. Merula, in 1592. When Louis died the business was in a flourishing condition, and his work was held in high repute outside Holland. Five sons seem to have followed him in the business at Leyden, Amsterdam, and other cities, but after a century the firm may be said to have reached its zenith, and henceforth it gradually declined. Louis' son Bonaventura, and Abraham, Bonaventura's nephew, issued the famous series of beautiful historical and political works called "*Petites Républiques*." Between 1625 and 1649 thirty-four numbers had been produced.

In Heft 5 of the *Gesellschaft F. A. Geissler* has an article entitled "Wagner and Bungert." The subject, however, is August Bungert, the composer of a cycle of six operas founded on the Homeric stories and known as "The Homeric World," "Circe," "The Return of Odysseus," etc.; and his patrons have proposed to have a theater built at Godesberg for the performance of his Homeric music dramas.

The *Preussische Jahrbücher* for March contains the complete text of a lecture, by A. Schröder, on "The Future of the German Language," which was delivered before the Academic Society at Freiburg im Breisgau. The writer thinks it hopeless to attempt to compete with the use of English and French, but he would have the Germans take greater pride in their language and literature.



THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS.

Industrial Democracy. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Two vols., 8vo, pp. 957. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$8.

This country is honored just now by a visit from Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb of London, who arrived last month for a vacation sojourn of some weeks in the United States. Our readers will not be unfamiliar with the name of Mr. Sidney Webb, for he is one of London's foremost municipal statesmen. He has served with high efficiency for a number of years on the London County Council in the capacity of chairman of the Committee on Education; and only a few weeks ago in the great London election he was triumphantly returned for another term, with a heartiness of support from men who were once afraid of his radical views that gave the highest possible testimony to the practical value of his public services. Mr. Webb is an admirable writer who has contributed much to economic literature, and is a conspicuous advocate of the extension of governmental functions. His wife, as Miss Beatrice Potter, had before her marriage become well known as a writer upon industrial coöperation and other subjects of an economic character. For the past six years Mr. and Mrs. Webb have together devoted themselves to a profound study of English industrial life and organization. A preliminary volume, published some time ago, has now been followed by a monumental work in two large volumes entitled "Industrial Democracy." The book is a masterpiece in several senses. No one can doubt the unequalled grasp of these writers upon the facts with which their volumes deal; and upon the scientific side, therefore, they have made an enduring contribution to the history and theory of social economics. Further than that, they have achieved a literary triumph, in view of the artistic unity of the method they have employed, and the lucidity and charm of their style and treatment. This strong and learned study of a great theme is worth careful and thorough reading, because it carries one by methods of sure and clear analysis into the very heart of the structure of the democracy of our own generation. At another time we hope to present to our readers some of the important generalizations and specific conclusions to be found in these volumes.

The Science of Political Economy. By Henry George. 8vo, pp. 584. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$2.50.

The last seven years of Henry George's life were mainly devoted to the writing of this book. When Mr. George entered the fatal New York mayoralty campaign last fall he had nearly completed the work; what he regarded as the essential features were in the form in which he wished them to be published. The readers of "Progress and Poverty" are conversant with the fundamental principles of Mr. George's system of economics, but in that work it was impossible to give an exposition of the system as a logical whole. "Progress and Poverty" was controversial rather than constructive. It was Mr. George's desire to leave behind him a treatise which should embody the great truths of his reconstructed science of political economy, stated in their logical sequence and perspective. Such a treatise is the work just published. It is marked by the same literary style which made "Progress and Poverty" one of the most widely read books of the century—a style unapproached by any other economic writer in the English language. The book is neatly printed and well indexed. It has an excellent photographic portrait as a frontispiece.

Outlines of Sociology. By Lester F. Ward. 12mo, pp. 313. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

Professor Ward's "Outlines" is to be numbered among the most important of the recent American contributions to

the comparatively new science of sociology. Its value, to a great extent, lies in the author's clear delimitation of the province of sociological investigation. Merely to mark off the field of this science in a way satisfactory to all investigators is a feat that no writer has yet accomplished. Yet it is obviously one of the primary tasks of the sociologist. It cannot be asserted that Professor Ward has done this work to the full satisfaction of all the schools, but if we mistake not he has made a distinct advance in this direction. In his exposition of what sociology is not, he clears the ground of much unnecessary rubbish, and in his positive statement of what sociology is, he deals with vital and enduring principles.

Various Fragments. By Herbert Spencer. 12mo, pp. 209. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.25.

The "fragments" of Mr. Spencer's voluminous writings brought together in this volume are chiefly concerned with social and political topics. Some of these utterances were called out by reviews of the author's "Sociology." The copyright question is discussed at some length.

Aristocracy and Evolution: A Study of the Rights, the Origin, and the Social Functions of the Wealthier Classes. By W. H. Mallock. 8vo, pp. 418. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

In this volume the leading English opponent of modern socialism enters into an exhaustive argument to show the place of aristocracy, or rather, as the author explains his use of the term, of "the exceptionally gifted and efficient minority," in the social organism. This argument will be read with great interest by the opponents as well as by the indorsers of Mr. Mallock's views. The present volume, however, does not attempt a complete answer to the question in dispute between "the masses and the classes." It aims at establishing the social rights and functions of the minority, but it takes no account of the minority's duties to society. The author promises to deal with that part of the problem later.

The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1898. Edited by J. Scott Keltie, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 1196. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

It is always a pleasure to receive the new volume of the Statesman's Year-Book. Dr. J. Scott Keltie's compilation for 1898 has all the merits of its long line of predecessors, while this new issue, like each of its recent companions in the series, has some excellent features of its own in the way of maps and special tables. No other compilation of like character can compare with the Statesman's Year-Book for accuracy and completeness in statistical and governmental information about all the countries and political divisions of the planet.

A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897. Published by Authority of Congress. By James D. Richardson. Octavo. Washington: Government Printing Office.

The Hon. James D. Richardson, a well-known member of Congress from Tennessee, has thought out and carried through a most interesting and useful publication. Of the nine volumes, nearly all have made their appearance. They contain the annual and special messages of all the presidents to Congress, and other important papers of an official character by our chief magistrates. If the collection is not quite exhaustively complete, very little of importance will be found wanting; and the volumes will prove of great con-

venience for reference. Its preparation has involved much labor, and is a credit to Mr. Richardson's intelligence and industry. The volumes are much more handsomely gotten up than the average specimen of bookmaking that comes out of the public printing office at Washington.

Cartoons by Homer C. Davenport. With an Introduction by Hon. John J. Ingalls. Folio, pp. 94. New York: R. H. Russell. \$1.75.

Very many of Mr. Homer Davenport's cartoons have been placed upon permanent record in the bound volumes of this magazine, and they will not escape the notice of the future historian when he searches in the public libraries for a knowledge of American politics in the closing years of the present century. Mr. Davenport is above all else a caricaturist. The present volume, in which his work is reproduced, consists in large part of portrait caricatures of individual men. These show an extraordinary ability, and establish for Mr. Davenport an extremely high place among the fifteen or twenty foremost political caricaturists and cartoonists of the whole world. The volume is very handsomely printed, and is a good thing to keep. Every copy of it will have a high value a few years hence.

Open Mints and Free Banking. By William Brough. 12mo, pp. 187. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.

Mr. William Brough maintains in this work the position taken in his essay on "The Natural Law of Money," in favor of the free coinage of both gold and silver, and of the virtual abdication by the government of the business of banking and of any form of control of the currency. This, he holds, might be done without disturbance to business and without such injustice to individuals as would assuredly follow a suspension of gold payment under our present monetary laws.

The Bargain Theory of Wages. By John Davidson, M.A. 12mo, pp. 322. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

The author of this monograph, who holds the chair of political economy in the University of New Brunswick, has attempted to reconcile the theory of wages held by the late General Walker with the doctrine of the wages fund which General Walker himself so strenuously opposed. He finds some aid toward this attempt in the Austrian theory of value. As a convenient historical statement of the various theories on the subject of wages, the book will serve a useful purpose.

BIOGRAPHY.

Cheerful Yesterdays. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. 12mo, pp. 374. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

Among living Americans there are few indeed whose lives have been richer in interesting incident, fewer still who can write more gracefully of "Cheerful Yesterdays," than Colonel Higginson. With the exception of Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Colonel Higginson is the sole survivor of that group of brilliant writers which accomplished the transition from the early "transcendental" movement in New England to the anti-slavery propaganda represented by the *Atlantic Monthly* of the ante-bellum period. The chapter on "The Birth of a Literature" gives pleasing glimpses of the personal relations that existed between the most famous members of the *Atlantic* school. Then follow chapters on "Kansas and John Brown" and "Civil War," dealing with episodes less fitly grouped among the "Cheerful Yesterdays," perhaps, and yet not lacking in humorous suggestion. Hardly less entertaining are Colonel Higginson's reminiscences of his own participation in public affairs since the war.

Memoirs and Letters of James Kent, LL.D., Late Chancellor of the State of New York. By William Kent. 12mo, pp. 341. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

It seems strange that the publication of the memoirs of Chancellor Kent, "the American Blackstone," should have

been delayed for more than fifty years after that distinguished jurist's death. In the annals of the American bench and bar probably no name commands more general respect than that of the author of "Commentaries on American Law." Judge William Kent, son of the chancellor, had collected much of the material now included in this volume, but he died before it was ready for publication, and the work of editing was left to his grandson. Chancellor Kent's acquaintance with Alexander Hamilton and other public men of his day enhances the interest of his memoirs for the general reader. To the legal profession the book appeals with peculiar force; for Kent may almost be regarded as the founder of our system of jurisprudence.

General Grant's Letters to a Friend, 1861-1880. 12mo, pp. 142. Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.

This little volume contains the forty-eight letters and parts of letters addressed by General Grant to the Hon. E. B. Washburne during a period of nineteen years, beginning in 1861. An introduction and notes are supplied by Gen. James Grant Wilson. Some of these letters were published last year in the *North American Review*, where they aroused much interest. They form a unique contribution to history.

James Macdonell, Journalist. By W. Robertson Nicoll. 8vo, pp. 428. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.75.

This biography of a British journalist is not likely to appeal to a wide and curious audience, but those who read it will be thankful that it was written, and will recommend it to their friends. Mr. James Macdonell died nearly twenty years ago, and the first English edition of this book appeared nine or ten years ago; but it is not too late even now to offer the book in a new edition to American readers. Macdonell was a Scotchman who served his journalistic apprenticeship in Edinburgh, and by stages advanced through the provincial press to important positions in London. For a good while he was in Paris as the correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*, and afterward he was a member of the staff of the *London Times*. His talents were great and his work of a high order. He was admired and respected by many of the most eminent public men of England, and few journalists have ever been more thoroughly esteemed by their professional contemporaries.

The Wound Dresser: A Series of Letters Written from the Hospitals in Washington During the War of the Rebellion by Walt Whitman. Edited by Richard Maurice Bucke, M.D. 16mo, pp. 206. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.50.

These letters give an insight into army hospital life that has distinctive value, quite apart from the writer's own unique personality. The judgment of most readers will fully coincide with that of the editor of the volume in the opinion that the letters are not in any true sense literature.

John Wesley as a Social Reformer. By D. D. Thompson. 12mo, pp. 111. New York: Eaton & Mains. 50 cents.

This work treats briefly of Wesley as "the apostle to the poor," his influence on the social life of England, his opposition to slavery, his influence in America, and on the labor movement.

Sir Thomas Maitland; The Mastery of the Mediterranean. By Walter Frewen Lord. 12mo, pp. 321. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.

In the series of "Builders of Greater Britain" Sir Thomas Maitland has a place as "the only Mediterranean statesman that England ever produced." Living in the Napoleonic era, when the map of Europe was undergoing radical changes, Sir Thomas Maitland made it his chief endeavor to see to it that, so far as the Mediterranean was concerned, no change should be prejudicial to British interests.

Napoleon III. and his Court. By Imbert de Saint-Amand. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. 12mo, pp. 407. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

In this volume M. Saint-Amand exhibits the second French Emperor at his best. In the years 1853-56 Louis Napoleon was on dress parade. That was the period of his triumph. Among the important international events of those years were the Crimean War and the Paris Exposition. M. Saint-Amand writes with full personal knowledge of the period.

The Letters of Victor Hugo, from Exile, and After the Fall of the Empire. Edited by Paul Meurice. 8vo, pp. 249. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.

This volume is the second of the series edited by M. Meurice; it is made up of letters written by Victor Hugo to various persons between the years 1836 and 1882—a period covering such important episodes in French history as the Revolution of 1848, the Coup d'État of Napoleon III., the fall of the second Empire, and the establishment of the present republic. Many of the letters, especially those addressed to Mme. Hugo, have an intense personal interest.

Pasteur. By Percy Frankland and Mrs. Percy Frankland. 12mo, pp. 224. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

This volume in the "Century Science Series" performs a useful service in telling such facts as the public chiefly cares to know about the life of the man who of all the scientists of the age has made discoveries most profoundly affecting our every-day existence. Although written by original investigators in Pasteur's field of research, the book is not of a technical character. It is remarkably successful in making clear the practical bearings of Pasteur's contributions to science.

Chambers' Biographical Dictionary: The Great of all Times and Nations. Edited by David Patrick, LL.D., and Francis Hinde Groome. 8vo, pp. 1002. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$3.50.

This new edition of Chambers' Biographical Dictionary will be welcomed by all who have occasion to note facts in the lives of the world's great men. The revision has been brought down to the month of October last, and much new material has been incorporated, in one form or another.

The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography. Edited by Henry James Morgan. 12mo, pp. 1130. Toronto: William Briggs. \$3.

The first feeling on taking up Mr. Morgan's "Canadian Men and Women of the Time" is likely to be one of mild wonderment at the bulkiness of the volume. Here are more than three thousand biographical sketches. Surely Canada is to be congratulated on having so many eminent citizens within her bounds. The chief features of the English "Men and Women of the Time" are adopted in this publication, and in addition Mr. Morgan has taken the trouble to incorporate in some of the sketches the subjects' opinions on the public questions of the day, and to supply the post-office address of each person represented. The work seems to have been compiled with much care.

HISTORY AND TRAVEL.

Marching with Gomez: A War Correspondent's Field Note-Book kept Four Months with the Cuban Army. By Grover Flint. With an introduction by John Fiske. 12mo, pp. 319. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Flint gives us by far the best description of the Cuban insurgents and their operations that has yet appeared. Mr. Flint was qualified by former experience in the United States Army on the great plains of the West to make an intelligent study of military movements, and residence in Spain had made him familiar with the language and modes of thought of the Spanish race. The introduction, contributed by Mr. John Fiske, is an admirable summary of Cuba's unhappy history under Spanish rule.

The Pilgrims in their Three Homes, England, Holland, America. By William Elliot Griffis. 16mo, pp. 300. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.

Dr. Griffis writes most entertainingly of the Pilgrim fathers and mothers in their social life, before and after the founding of Plymouth Colony. He emphasizes more than most historians the value of the Dutch influence. His book was suggested by the movement among American Congregationalists to commemorate at Delfshaven the twelve-years' residence of the Pilgrims in Holland prior to their sailing to New England in 1620.

A Literary History of India. By R. W. Frazer, LL.B. 8vo, pp. 474. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$4.

The first volume in the "Library of Literary History" covers ground that to most American readers, at least, is comparatively unfamiliar. The monumental series of "Sacred Books of the East" is accessible to the scholars among us, it is true, and a few popular histories of India have been published in English, but we now have for the first time a connected history of the country worked out from literary evidences exclusively. The writer has long been one of the foremost authorities on matters connected with Indian literature, philosophy, and history.

Through South Africa. By Henry M. Stanley. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

Any one at all interested in South Africa will be glad to get the impressions of so experienced a traveler as Mr. Stanley, who for many years has been the highest authority on other portions of the Dark Continent. This volume is made up of a series of newspaper letters written by Mr. Stanley during November, 1897, from Bulawayo, Johannesburg, and Pretoria. The book is provided with a good map.

LITERATURE.

Benjamin Franklin. Edited by Bliss Perry. 18mo, pp. 185. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 30 cents.

In the series of "Little Masterpieces" now coming from the Doubleday & McClure press a book of extracts from the writings of Benjamin Franklin has wisely been included. Selections from the "Autobiography," "Poor Richard's Almanac," and a few of the genial philosopher's essays and letters are presented in this convenient form. As to Franklin's place in American literature, Professor Perry's judgment seems to us eminently sound: "We have had plenty of gloomy, stormy geniuses since Franklin's day, but we have had very few men who could write a better page of English prose."

Daniel Webster: Representative Speeches. Edited by Bliss Perry. 18mo, pp. 183. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 30 cents.

The Websterian contribution to "Little Masterpieces" consists of the eulogy of Adams and Jefferson and the "Reply to Hayne." While these speeches fully justify the title of the book, it seems peculiarly unfortunate that the Plymouth address, the Bunker Hill oration, and the argument in the Dartmouth College case should not be represented even by brief selections.

BOOKS ON EDUCATION.

The Meaning of Education, and Other Essays and Addresses. By Nicholas Murray Butler. 12mo, pp. 241. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

Several of the most important of Dr. Butler's recent contributions to the discussion of educational problems are included in this volume. "What Knowledge is of Most Worth?" "Is there a New Education?" "Democracy and Education," "The American College and the American University," "The Function of the Secondary School," and "The Reform of Secondary Education in the United States" are the titles of these papers, some of which have already appeared as magazine articles, while others have been read at meetings of educational associations. We are sure that

the teachers of the country will be glad to have these articles and addresses brought together in a single volume. On all that pertains to the science of education no writer more readily commands assent than Dr. Butler.

Thoughts and Theories of Life and Education. By J. L. Spalding. 16mo, pp. 236. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.

As an essayist on educational subjects Bishop Spalding has been universally commended. There are few American writers who combine such breadth of view with a like facility of expression.

The Children of the Future. By Nora Archibald Smith. 16mo, pp. 165. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.

Heretofore Miss Smith has been chiefly known to the reading public through her collaboration with Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin in the authorship of "The Story Hour," "Children's Rights," and "The Republic of Childhood," a charming series of books dealing with various phases of the kindergarten, though several of the essays included in the present volume have appeared in the *Outlook* and *Table Talk*. These essays are addressed primarily to mothers, and have been written in a most helpful spirit.

The Common School and the New Education. By Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, Ph.D. Paper, 16mo, pp. 46. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. 25 cents.

SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS.

Undine: A Tale. By Frederick Baron de la Motte Fouqué. Translated by Abby L. Alger. 12mo, pp. 118. Boston: Ginn & Co. 30 cents.

The Princess. By Alfred Lord Tennyson. With introduction and notes. 16mo, pp. 147. New York: Maynard, Merrill & Co.

Selections from "Paradise Lost." With introduction and glossary. Edited by Albert P. Walker. 16mo, pp. 270. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 40 cents.

The Silver Series of English Classics: Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration, Macaulay's Essay on Milton, De Quincey's Revolt of the Tartars, Burke's Speech on Conciliation, Southey's Life of Nelson, Coleridge's Rime of the Ancient Mariner, Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley Papers, Macaulay's Essay on Addison, Shakespeare's Macbeth. Paper, 12mo. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co.

The Science of Discourse: A Rhetoric for High Schools and Colleges. By Arnold Tompkins. 12mo, pp. 363. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.10.

Teaching as a Business: Four Addresses. By C. W. Bardeen. 16mo, pp. 154. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. \$1.

The Study of Mediæval History by the Library Method, for High Schools. By M. S. Getchell. 12mo, pp. 79. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Lycidas. By John Milton. Edited by John Phelps Fruit. 12mo, pp. 45. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Reading Courses in American Literature. Fred Lewis Pattee. 12mo, pp. 55. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 36 cents.

Light and Shade, with Chapters on Charcoal, Pencil, and Brush Drawing. A Manual for Teachers and Students. By Anson K. Cross. Octavo, pp. 188. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.10.

The Finch Primer. By Adelaide V. Finch. 12mo, pp. 90. Boston: Ginn & Co. 35 cents.

Selections from Pierre Loti. Edited, with notes, by A. Guyot Cameron, Ph.D. Authorized edition. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 90 cents.

Die Nonna. By Rudolf Baumbach. Paper, 12mo, pp. 107. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 30 cents.

Materials for German Composition, Based on "Höher als die Kirche." By James Taft Hatfield. Paper, 12mo, pp. 27. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 12 cents.

Outlines of Electricity and Magnetism. By Charles A. Perkins. 12mo, pp. 277. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.

Selections from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold. Edited, with notes, by Lewis E. Gates. 16mo, pp. 439. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 90 cents.

Via Latina: An Easy Latin Reader. By William C. Collar. With vocabulary by Clarence W. Gleason. 16mo, pp. 203. Boston: Ginn & Co. 85 cents.

La Poudre aux Yeux: A Comedy in Two Acts. By Labiche and Martin. Edited, with notes, by Benjamin W. Wells, Ph.D. 16mo, pp. 86. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.

Drei Kleine Lustspiele. Edited, with notes, by Benjamin W. Wells, Ph.D. 16mo, pp. 121. Boston: Ginn & Co. 30 cents.

The Fifth Book of Xenophon's Anabasis. Edited by Alfred G. Rolfe. 16mo, pp. 115. Boston: Ginn & Co. 45 cents.

First Spanish Readings. Selected and edited, with notes, by John E. Matzke, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 219. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$1.

Doña Perfecta. By Benito Pérez Galdós. With an introduction and notes by A. R. Marsh. 12mo, pp. 284. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.10.

A Complete Manual of the Pitman System of Phonography. By Norman P. Heffley. 12mo, pp. 128. New York: American Book Company. \$1.25.

Stories of Long Ago in a New Dress. By Grace H. Kupfer. 12mo, pp. 98. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 35 cents.

Elementary Arithmetic. By William W. Speer. 12mo, pp. 334. Boston: Ginn & Co. 55 cents.

Stories from English History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Edited by Albert F. Blaisdell. 12mo, pp. 195. Boston: Ginn & Co. 50 cents.

The Principles of Vocal Science. By Edward A. Hayes. Paper, 8vo, pp. 83. New York: The Vocalist Publishing Company.

En Route. By S. A. Steel. Paper, 18mo, pp. 224. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. 30 cents.

Training for Citizenship: Suggestions on Teaching Civics. By B. A. Hinsdale, Ph.D. Paper, 12mo, pp. 64. Chicago: Werner School Book Company. 10 cents.

Elements of Chemistry. By Rufus P. Williams. 12mo, pp. 418. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.20.

A Practical Physiology: A Text-Book for Higher Schools. By Albert F. Blaisdell, M.D. 12mo, pp. 448. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.30.

Flowers and Their Friends. By Margaret Warner Morley. Octavo, pp. 255. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Higher Arithmetic. By Wooster Woodruff Beman and David Eugene Smith. 12mo, pp. 207.

French Practical Course. By Jules Magnenat. 12mo, pp. 297. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

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LEADING ARTICLES IN THE MAY MAGAZINES.

The Arena.—Boston. May.
The Great Slave Power. William M. Stewart.
Immortality: Its Place in the Thought of To-day. W. H. Johnson.
An Open Letter to the Monetary Commission. George A. Groot.
A Graveyard with a History. B. O. Flower.
Multiple-Standard Money. Henry Winn.
Unknown Natural Forces. Camille Flammarion.
Frances E. Willard. Mary Lowe Dickinson.
The Novel-Reading Habit. George Clark.
Humorous Characteristics of the Scot. Andrew W. Cross.
President McKinley and the Waldorf-Astorian Revel. J. C. Ridpath.

Atlantic Monthly.—Boston. May.
International Isolation of the United States. Richard Olney.
The Dreyfus and Zola Trials. John T. Morse, Jr.
Psychology and Real Life. Hugo Münsterberg.
English Literature and the Vernacular. Mark H. Liddell.
A Nook in the Alleghanies.—II. Bradford Torrey.
Washington Reminiscences. A. R. Spofford.
Great Explorers of the Southern Heavens. T. J. J. See.
Western Real Estate Booms, and After. H. J. Fletcher.
The Evolution of the Gentleman. S. M. Crothers.

The Bookman.—New York. May.
Lincoln, Lamont, and Eugene Field. Henry W. Fischer.
American Bookmen.—XII.: Longfellow and Holmes. M. A. DeW. Howe.

Century Magazine.—New York. May.
The Beethoven Museum at Bonn. H. E. Krehbiel.
Ascent of the Enchanted Mesa. F. W. Hodge.
Notes on Old Mesa Life. Ferdinand Lundgren.
Submarine Photography. Prof. Louis Boutan.
The Secret Language of Childhood. Oscar Chrisman.
The Scramble for the Upper Nile. R. Dorsey Mohun.
An Outline of Japanese Art. Ernest F. Fenollosa.
An Effort to Rescue Jefferson Davis. Joseph Wheeler.
Railway Crossings in Europe and America. F. B. Locke.
The Seven Wonders of the World. Benjamin Ide Wheeler.
A Statesman of Russia: Constantine Pobedonostzeff. Andrew D. White.
After-Dinner Oratory. Brander Matthews.
Club and Salon.—I. Amella Gere Mason.
What are the X-Rays? John Trowbridge.
The Mother City of Greater New York. Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer.

The Cosmopolitan.—Irvington, N. Y. May.
On the Great Lakes. F. W. Fitzpatrick.
The Wistaria Shrine of Kameido. T. Wores.
A Family of Engineers. T. C. Martin.
The Coronation of Wilhelmina of Holland. C. Childs.
The Wilderness We Bought from France. C. F. Manderson.
Autobiography of Napoleon Bonaparte.
Motherhood as a Profession. John Brisben Walker.
Regarding the Voice in Conversation. H. G. Hawn.

Demorest's Family Magazine.—New York. May.
Frances E. Willard. T. A. DeWeese.
French Women in Old Age. Harriet Monroe.
Spring's Opening Days. Helen Ingersoll.
Some Interesting Neighbors on the Pacific Coast. J. T. Conner.
The New York School of Applied Design. Carolyn Halsted.

Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly.—New York. May.
Naval Warfare of To-day. Frederick S. Danie.
The National Congress of Mothers. Augusta Reese Shuford.
Andrew Jackson: His Life, Times, and Compatriots.—VII.
F. W. Doughty.
The City of St. Pierre. J. G. Tucker.

The Reform Church in America. David J. Burrell.
Bacon's Rebellion. Lewis R. Harlev.
Galveston, the "Island City" of Texas. Charles T. Logan.

Godey's Magazine.—New York. May.
Life on the Canal. Ethel Belle Appel.
Art in Oriental Rugs. H. K. Samuelian.
Old California Missions. Frederic Reddall.
Some Microscopic House Builders. Mary Treat.
Leonardo da Vinci. C. I. T. Mathews.
The American Rabbi as He Is. Clifton H. Levy.

Harper's Magazine.—New York. May.
Awakened Russia. Julian Ralph.
The Trans-Isthmian Canal Problem. Col. William Ludlow.
U. S. A.
East-Side Considerations. E. S. Martin.
Varallo and the Val Sesia. Edwin Lord Weeks.
Some Byways of the Brain.—II. Andrew Wilson, M.D.
University Life in the Middle Ages. Prof. W. T. Hewett.

Ladies' Home Journal.—Philadelphia. May.
Rip Van Winkle as He Is at Home. Josephine Robb.
My Kindergarten of Fifty Years. Robert J. Burdette.
The Life of a Trained Nurse. Elizabeth R. Scovel.

Lippincott's Magazine.—Philadelphia. May.
Woman's Work and Wages. Eleanor Whiting.
The Faculty of Computing in Animals. James Weir, Jr.
The Indian Afoot. William T. Larned.
The Sacred Flower. Marvin Dana.
Do Animals Drink? William S. Walsh.
Blunders in Bird-Nesting. Charles C. Abbott.
The Literature of Japan. Joslyn Z. Smith.
The Book-Loves of Statesmen. Frank G. Carpenter.

McClure's Magazine.—New York. May.
John Milne: Observer of Earthquakes. Cleveland Moffett.
Reminiscences of the Civil War.—VII. C. A. Dana.
Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson.
At Sea with the Circus. C. T. Murray.
Ulysses Grant—His Last Year. Hamlin Garland.

Munsey's Magazine.—New York. May.
Civil-Service Reform. Lyman J. Gage.
The Praisemongers. James L. Ford.
Cottage Life on the St. Lawrence. Edwin Wildman.
America's Big Guns. George Grantham Bain.
Getting On in Journalism. Frank A. Munsey.
A Parisian Etcher.
Daniel Chester French, Sculptor.
An American Cathedral. Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D.

National Magazine.—Boston. May.
In London with Charles Dana Gibson. Sara Crowquill.
Some Memories of Leopold Damrosch. Caroline A. Powell.
Back to the Land; or, The Farm Colonies of the Salvation Army. F. De L. Booth-Tucker.
Enlisting in the United States Navy To-day. Joseph L. French.
A Cuban Insurgent Newspaper. Thomas W. Steep.
With Gomez in the Cuban Skirmishes. Joseph L. French.
A Daughter of Moab. Charles A. Dickinson, D.D.

New England Magazine.—Boston. May.
Municipal Art in the Netherlands. Allen French.
Samuell Gorton, of Rhode Island. Lewis G. James.
The Spy in the Neutral Ground. Harry E. Miller.
Education in Art for Children. Charles N. Flagg.
Some Professional Swimmers. William E. Cram.
The City of Chicopee. Collins G. Burnham.

Scribner's Magazine.—New York. May.
Undergraduate Life at Wellesley. Abbe Carter Goodloe.
The Story of the Revolution. Henry Cabot Lodge.
The Workers—The West.—II. Walter A. Wyckoff.

THE OTHER AMERICAN AND ENGLISH PERIODICALS.

(From the latest numbers received.)

American Historical Review.—New York. (Quarterly.) April.

Annual Meeting of the American Historical Society.
The Study of History at Paris. C. H. Haskins.
Features of the New History. E. W. Dow.

Did Cabot Return from His Second Voyage? H. Harris.
Early History of the Ballot in England. Charles Gross.
Present Status of the Königsmark Question. E. F. Henderson.
Early Political Uses of the Word Convention. J. F. Jameson.

American Monthly Review of Reviews.—New York. April.

Political Germany. Theodor Barth.
Does Cosmopolitan Life Lead to International Friendliness?
Baron de Coubertin.
Baron Pierre de Coubertin. Albert Shaw.
The Golden Heart of the Sierra Madre. H. D. Slater.
The Referendum and the Swiss Railroads. J. R. Macdonald.
Bacchylides, the Risen Bard. J. Irving Manatt.

American Journal of Theology.—Chicago. (Quarterly.) April.

The Pauline Doctrine of Sin. Orello Cone.
The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl. J. H. W. Stuckenberg.
The Interpretation of Parables. Shailer Mathews.
Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath. Morris Jastrow, Jr.
Prologue to the Acts of the Apostles.

The Art Amateur.—New York. April.

Leonardo da Vinci. R. Riordan.
Painting in Oils, Old and Modern.
Stained Glass.
Figure Painting. W. P. Amsden.

Art Interchange.—New York. April.

George Inness, Jr. Carlotta N. Smith.
Picture-Making and Picture-Judging. J. C. Vandyke.
Industrial Art Education and Manual Training. Professor Ladd.

Atlanta.—London. April.

In Thuringia, Germany. Katherine Elwes.
Photography as a Profession for Women. Ruth Young.

Badminton Magazine.—London. April.

Harrow Cricket. Horace Hutchinson.
A Day with the Spanish Hill Partridges. Henry Goodale.
Bermuda Dingy-Racing. Charles E. Eldred.
With the Gun in New South Wales. William Redmond.
Rounding Up Birds. W. Paine.

Bankers' Magazine.—New York. April.

Loans of the United States.
A New Currency Bill.
Credit as an Instrument of Commerce.

Bankers' Magazine.—London. April.

The Progress of Banking in Great Britain and Ireland During 1897.
Currency and the Money Market in India.
Electric Railway Finance. W. R. Lawson.
The Bonus Year. Archibald Hewat.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—Oberlin, Ohio. (Quarterly.) April.

Creation; or, The Transmutation of Energy. Jacob Cooper.
The New Chronology of Paul's Life. George H. Gilbert.
Religious Significance of Recent English Verse. E. M. Chapman.
Modern Lights on the Reformation. James Lindsay.
Early Religion of the Hindus. H. W. Magoun.
The Problem of the Currency. Charles S. Walker.
The Pilgrim Fathers and the Message of Puritanism. N. D. Hillis.

Blackwood's Magazine.—Edinburgh. April.

Life and Death in the Niger Delta.
Progress in Ireland.
The Town of the Renegades: Agurai. W. B. Harris.
Mrs. Oliphant as a Biographer.
Memoirs of a Highland Lady.
The Guerrillero.
The Chinese Imbroglio.
The Democracy and Wars.

Board of Trade Journal.—London. March.

Warning to Exporters of British Goods to Brazil.
The Development of Persian Trade. With Maps.
American Competition in Europe.
Trade Regulations and Taxes in the Congo Free State.
The Progress of British Central Africa.

Canadian Magazine.—Toronto. April.

Rome During Holy Week. Constance R. Boulton.
The Makers of the Dominion of Canada.—VI. J. G. Bourinot.
Mural Decoration. G. A. Reid.
The Anglican Church in Canada.—III. T. E. Champion.

Cassell's Family Magazine.—London. April.

Horatio D. Davies; the Lord Mayor and the Mansion House.
All About Gondoliers. Alfred T. Story.
Vienna; a Capital at Play. B. Fletcher Robinson.
Magazines in the Madhouse. J. M. Bulloch.
After Elephants in Africa. Herbert Ward.

Cassier's Magazine.—New York. April.

The United States Ironclad "Monitor." F. M. Bennett.
The Liverpool Overhead Railway and Docks. S. B. Cottrell.
Trade Unions and Political Economy. Francis G. Burton.
Crushing and Pulverizing Machines. James Douglas.
Car-Ferrying on American Lakes. A. S. Chapman.
Inventing for a Living. George E. Walsh.
Across the Chilkoot Pass by Wire Cable. William Hewitt.

Catholic University Bulletin.—Washington. (Quarterly.) April.

Was the Poet Sedulius an Irishman? T. J. Shahan.
The Human Element in Scripture. C. P. Gramann.
Geometry of Fluids in Motion. René de Saussure.
Historical Method and Documents of the Hextateuch. Baron von Hügel.
European Congresses of 1897. T. Bouquillon.

Catholic World.—New York. April.

Mr. Ward's Cardinal Wiseman. Charles A. L. Morse.
The Catholic Life of Boston. A. A. McGinley.
The Huguenots. George McDermot.
Ludwig Pastor, the Great German Historian. M. L. Mitchell.
Easter Scenes in Jerusalem. C. C. Svendsen.
The New Leaven in Modern Life. Henry O'Keeffe.

Chambers's Journal.—Edinburgh. April.

Mine-Salting.
Küstendie; a Roumanian Brindisi. D. T. Timins.
Liverpool; Its Privateers and Its Slave-Trade.
The Wasted Wind.

Charities Review.—New York. April.

Twenty-fifth National Conference of Charities and Correction. W. S. Ufford.
Sanitary Hints for Institutions. Charles F. Wingate.
Child-Saving in New Jersey. Homer Folks.
Industrial Insurance.
Studies in the Life of the Poor.—II.

Contemporary Review.—London. April.

The Failure of Our Foreign Policy.
Some Notes on the Zola Case. David Christie Murray.
India on a Gold Basis. W. R. Lawson.
Ferdinand Fabre. Edmund Gosse.
Mr. Mallock as Political Economist. J. A. Hobson.
The Differentia of Christianity. John Robson.
Irish Elementary Education. Edith F. Hogg and A. D. Innes.
England and France in West Africa. Professor Westlake.
The Balance of Power. "Quorum Pars Fui."

Cornhill Magazine.—London. April.

Rodney and De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints, April, 1782.
W. H. Fitchett.
An Unconscious Revolution. Alfred Hopkinson.
Henry Grattan, Patriot and Imperialist. Lord Castletown.
Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton. Sidney Lee.
Concerning Correspondence. E. V. Lucas.
The Training of Housewives. Mrs. St. Loe Strachey.

Demorest's Family Magazine.—New York. April.

The Annunciation Lily in Art. Mary A. Fanton.
French Women in Middle Life. Harriet Monroe.

The Dial.—Chicago.

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The Plight of the Bookseller.

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The Problem of the Adequate.
In Regard to Poetry. Charles L. Moore.

Education.—Boston. April.

Physical Conditions in Education. C. F. Carroll.
Medical Inspection of Schools. W. B. Powell.
The College or University—Which? Hiram Orcutt.
Grading of Schools. W. J. Shearer.
Educational Value of Constructive Work. F. Eby.

Educational Review.—New York. April.

Practical Methods of Teaching History.
English Sources for History Teaching. E. Barnes, Mary S. Barnes.
Private Education in Virginia. William Baird.
University Study at Berlin and at Oxford. S. H. Bishop.
Continuous Sessions of Normal Schools. Irwin Shepard.
The Culture-Epoch Theory. N. C. Vandewalker.

Educational Review.—London. April.

Pupil Teachers. Editor.
How Compulsory Education Fails. John Gibson.
The Seamy Side of School Board Work. Continued. Mary Dendy.

Engineering Magazine.—New York. April.

The Shifting Site of National Industrial Supremacy. J. S. Jeans.
 European Sea-Going Dredges and Deep-Water Dredging. E. L. Corthell.
 Systems and Apparatus for Steam Heating. J. J. Blackmore.
 Mining the Gold Ores of the Witwatersrand. H. H. Webb, P. Yeatman.
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 Notable Speed-Trials of British Locomotives. C. Rous-Marten.
 The Steam Engine and the Dynamo. C. T. Child.
 The Gas-Engine in American Practice. George Richmond.

English Illustrated Magazine.—London. April.

The Long-Sought Flying Machine. A. P. Teros.
 Inside a Beggar's Museum at the London Mendicity Society.
 Napoleon I.; the Great Adventurer.
 The Battle of Plassey: How We Won India.

Fortnightly Review.—London. April.

Where Lord Salisbury Has Failed.
 The Broken Gates of Death. W. B. Yeats.
 Liquor Traffic with West Africa. Mary Kingsley.
 The Posthumous Works of Robert Louis Stevenson. S. Gwynn.
 The French on the Niger. With Map. F. A. Edwards.
 Books on Big Game. Theodore Roosevelt.
 Can We Rely on Our War News? Michael MacDonagh.
 Juvenile Reformatories in France. E. Spearman.
 The "Maine" Disaster and After. Fred. T. Jane.
 Henry Harland, the Story-Teller at Large. Henry James.
 Friendly Societies for Women. J. F. Wilkinson.
 British Trade and the Integrity of China. Holt S. Hallett.

The Forum.—New York. April.

Dangerous Demands of the Interstate Commerce Commission. M. H. Smith.
 England and France in West Africa. Thomas G. Bowles.
 The Political Situation in Europe and the East. Nelson A. Miles.
 Central America: Its Resources and Commerce. William E. Curtis.
 The Economics of Genius. John M. Robertson.
 The Handel Revival in Germany. Bruno Schrader.
 The English Governing Oligarchy. Sidney Low.
 Professor Münsterberg's Attack on Experimental Psychology. C. B. Bliss.
 Is There Work Enough for All? William T. Harris.
 The Kalevala. Charles U. Clark.
 Recent Histories of Literature. William P. Trent.

Gentleman's Magazine.—London. April.

Loch Shiel. M. G. Watkins.
 Confucius. E. H. Parker.
 Worcestershire Seed Farms. James Cassidy.
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Holding Power of Nails. Frank Soulé.
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 A Gentle Art of Georgian England. Mrs. C. Parsons.
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A Trip to Mobile and Otherwise. E. S. Gardner.
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 Israels and the Dutch Painters. Mary A. Kirkup.
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A Model Church in India. J. K. Greene.

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Devotees—Hindu and Christian. Lucy E. Guinness.
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The Great Burmese Pagoda. H. G. Guinness.
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An Aspect of Attention. E. E. C. Jones.
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The City's Plan. J. F. Harder.
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The Northwest Passes to the Yukon. Eliza R. Scidmore.
Overland Routes to the Klondike. Hamlin Garland.
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The Warhound of the Garde-Jäger Battalion in Potsdam. F. Hugo.
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Hoffmann von Fallersleben. With Portrait. R. Fuchs.
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The Far Eastern Question. P. Friedrich.
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Society at Nice. Prince Valori.
The Explorers of the North Pole. A. Roussin.
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March 1.

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The Science of Economics. E. Levasseur.
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Camille Saint-Saëns and Contemporary Music. J. du Tillet.

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The Foundation of the French College at Athens. C. Leveque.
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The Marches of Joan of Arc, February 24, 1428, and May 30, 1431.

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Politics in Russia in Central Asia, 1890-97. L. Meillac.
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The Agrarian Situation in Germany. G. van den Bossche.
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The Chinese Calendar. Paul d'Enjoy.

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March 19.

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Seismology. J. Milne.

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Agriculture on the Congo. Émile Laurent.
Orientation. A. Thauzies.

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March 19.

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The Legal Iniquity of Dueling.

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Sky Photography. P. G. Giovannozzi.
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The Ambassador of Christ. Cardinal Gibbons.
An Unpublished Letter of Savonarola. M. Forerl.
The New Compensation for Accidents Law. G. P. A.

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Phylloxera and Natural Economics. D. Sciacca della Scala.
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The English Mission to Menelik. Count Gleichen.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

AP.	American Amateur Photographer.	ER.	Edinburgh Review.	NatM.	National Magazine.
ACQ.	American Catholic Quarterly Review.	Ed.	Education.	NatR.	National Review.
AHR.	American Historical Review.	EdRL.	Educational Review (London).	NCR.	New Century Review.
AAPS.	Annals of the Am. Academy of Political Science.	EdRNY.	Educational Review (New York).	NEM.	New England Magazine.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology.	EngM.	Engineering Magazine.	NewR.	New Review.
AMon.	American Monthly.	EL.	English Illustrated Magazine.	NW.	New World.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews.	FR.	Fortnightly Review.	NC.	Nineteenth Century.
APS.	Appleton's Popular Science Monthly.	F.	Forum.	NAR.	North American Review.
ARec.	Architectural Record.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly.	OC.	Open Court.
A.	Arena.	FreeR.	Free Review.	O.	Outing.
AA.	Art Amateur.	GM.	Gentleman's Magazine.	Out.	Outlook.
AI.	Art Interchange.	G.	Godey's.	OM.	Overland Monthly.
Ata.	Atalanta.	GBag.	Green Bag.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine.
AM.	Atlantic Monthly.	GMag.	Guntton's Magazine.	PRev.	Philosophical Review.
BA.	Bachelor of Arts.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly.
Bad.	Badminton Magazine.	HM.	Home Magazine.	PA.	Photo-American.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine (London).	HomR.	Homiletic Review.	PB.	Photo-Beacon.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine (New York).	Inter.	International.	PT.	Photographic Times.
BW.	Biblical World.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics.	PL.	Poet-Lore.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra.	JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
BTJ.	Board of Trade Journal.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy.	QJ Econ.	Quarterly Journal of Economics.
Bkman.	Bookman (New York).	K.	Knowledge.	QR.	Quarterly Review.
CanM.	Canadian Magazine.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal.	RRL.	Review of Reviews (London).
CFM.	Cassell's Family Magazine.	LH.	Leisure Hour.	RRM.	Review of Reviews (Melbourne).
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine.	R.	Rosary.
CW.	Catholic World.	Long.	Longman's Magazine.	San.	Sanitarian.
CM.	Century Magazine.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review.	SRev.	School Review.
CJ.	Chambers's Journal.	LuthQ.	Lutheran Quarterly.	Scots.	Scots Magazine.
CREv.	Charities Review.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine.
Chaut.	Chautauquan.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine.	SR.	Sewanee Review.
CE.	Contemporary Review.	Men.	Menorah Monthly.	Sten.	Stenographer.
C.	Cornhill.	Met.	Metaphysical Magazine.	Str.	Strand Magazine.
Cosmop.	Cosmopolis.	MR.	Methodist Review.	StJ.	Students' Journal.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan.	MidM.	Midland Monthly.	SUM.	Sunday Magazine.
Dem.	Demorest's Family Magazine.	MisH.	Missionary Herald.	TB.	Temple Bar.
D.	Dial.	MisR.	Missionary Review of World.	USM.	United Service Magazine.
DR.	Dublin Review.	Mon.	Monist.	WR.	Westminster Review.
		M.	Month.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine.
		MunA.	Municipal Affairs.	YR.	Yale Review.
		MM.	Munsey's Magazine.		
		Mus.	Music.		

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The World of Thrift and Money Matters.

Southern Cotton Mills.—While the newspapers have been full lately of labor troubles in the cotton mills of New England—cuts in wages, strikes, lockouts, petitions, complaints, and the whole dreary round—the dispatches have from time to time recorded a far different condition of affairs through the Southern States. It looks as if Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas had found the remedy for over-production and the consequent five-cent cotton which has been declared to mean ruin for Dixie. Mills have been springing up like mushrooms during the last year or so, for the pioneers have so successfully demonstrated their ability to compete with New England in this respect that unlimited capital has been forthcoming for such enterprises. A number of the foremost business men and manufacturers of Massachusetts have memorialized the Legislature of that State, setting forth the disadvantages under which they are laboring as compared with their Southern rivals and petitioning for relief in the form of lower taxes. Meanwhile the mills in the cotton-growing region, close to the raw product and so saving freight, with an abundance of cheap fuel, cheap labor, and with low taxes, are uniformly prosperous. There are to-day fully 500 such factories south of Mason and Dixon's line, and a recent writer estimates that they have cost two-thirds less money than plants operating an equal number of spindles at the North. Of these South Carolina has about 70 and North Carolina has nearly 200. Durham, in the latter State, has developed almost beyond belief along these lines, and is now a source of supplies for many smaller mills who get yarn there to make into various fabrics and then send their products back to be dyed. The same observer writes:

"I saw three factories built of unhewn logs. The girls who were weaving cloth by 'piece-work' could look at the bark on the logs while they earned from \$2 to \$4 a week—big wages for them. Better factories are put up two stories

high of brick. These brick are put into the walls for \$6.50 per thousand. There is no paint or whitewash to look at—just plain bricks and mortar. The machinery is often second-hand and owned by some Northern factory which has changed its machinery to better machinery from England."

"How do they start a factory in the South?"

"I saw a factory just started in Columbia, S. C. The money of colored men was behind it. They bought an old abandoned tobacco factory. Part of it was a tobacco shed. It cost \$3,000. Then, with some Northern backing, they went to Maine and bought four sets of machinery second-hand—the Maine factory replacing it with superb machinery from Manchester to do fine work. The Columbia factory, fitted up, cost about \$15,000. A factory in New England able to do the work of this factory would cost \$75,000. This factory is run by negroes. They cannot get over \$8 a month on the farms, and they are willing to work for the same wages in the mill. It is a missionary work to give them work at any price. This mill will make plain three-cent sheeting, and can produce it a third cheaper than Fall River.

"There are other factories in Columbia making heavy tent cloth, beautiful goods, and they can make it cheaper than they can in England."

Spain's Trade.—A very special interest attaches to the financial and commercial condition of Spain just at present. The following statistics come from a Madrid newspaper, and show a decidedly larger increase in the imports for 1897 than in the exports. A peseta is worth about 19.3 cents, so the entire exports amounted to less than \$180,000,000:

"The imports amounted to 793,341,121 pesetas, as compared with 748,986,377 pesetas in 1896 and 703,792,244 pesetas in 1895. The exports were of the value of 924,936,047 pesetas,

as against 892,328,618 pesetas in 1896 and 692,635,935 pesetas in 1895. The exports of last year exceeded, therefore, the imports by 131,594,926 pesetas. With regard to imports, an increase is observable in the following articles: Glass and china ware, drugs and chemical preparations, cotton, vegetable fibers, papers, wood, live-stock, machinery, and carriages. Of imports of a more special nature, railroad material, gold and silver have increased, while tobacco for the Compana Arrendataria has increased to the extent of nearly 12,000,000 pesetas. Exported articles show an increase except wool, live-stock, machinery, and foodstuffs. The value of exported Spanish wine of a common class has decreased by about 20,000,000 pesetas and of spirits and olive oil by 12,000,000 pesetas. Oranges, on the other hand, exceed the preceding year's export by 11,000,000 pesetas. The customs dues collected show 8,205,824 pesetas less than in 1896, attributable in large measure to the decrease in imported cereals."

The Demand for Ships.—It is an ill wind that blows no one good, and the shipbuilders certainly have no cause to complain over the war excitement which has so unsettled most businesses. Owners of war vessels have found themselves in the enviable position of being pressed to dispose of their wares at fancy prices, and no sooner were all the available torpedo-boats and cruisers snapped up than the Naval Board began to turn its attention to the passenger steamers which might serve as auxiliary cruisers. Vessels belonging to the Ward line, the North German Lloyd, the Red D, the Hamburg-American, the Savannah, and the International Navigation Company have all been examined and reported on, and up to the middle of April four steamers belonging to the Morgan line had been actually purchased, while negotiations were in progress for three from the Old Dominion Company. It is fortunate for these passenger lines that they have some outlet, for the transatlantic traffic in particular is far short of the normal amount and most of them will hardly make up their losses in this way. It is stated that the shipbuilding industry on the Clyde has experienced an altogether unexampled boom. The output from the Clyde yards during March was 40,000 tons. Orders were also booked during that month for 120,000 tons, making the work now in hand or ordered 625,000 tons, which is double the entire output during 1897. In this connection it is interesting to note that Lloyd's annual report shows the United States to hold second place in the merchant shipping of the world, something like 4,769,000 tons being placed to her credit. Great Britain, of

New England Loan AND Trust Company,

34 Nassau Street, New York.

Capital and Profits, \$975,000

D. O. ESHBAUGH, President.
W. W. WITMER, Vice-President.
W. F. BARTLETT, Secretary and Treasurer.

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

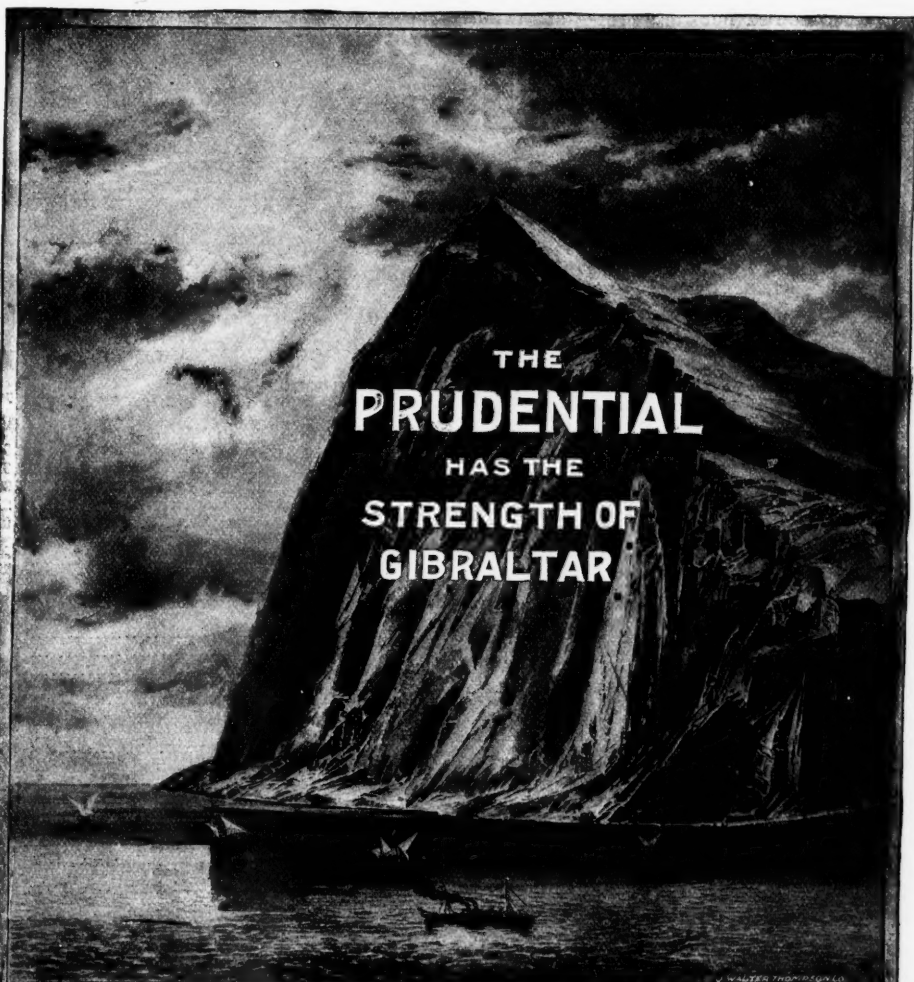
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course, heads the list, her 13,000,000 tons being divided between 8,590 steamers, aggregating 10,396,760 tons, and 11,916 sailing vessels, amounting altogether to 2,758,866 tons. During the year the steamer tonnage increased by 159,057, while that of sailing vessels dropped off 150,430. Germany is credited with only 1,000,000 tons, while France has slightly less. Japan has recently taken her place among the iron shipbuilding nations. She has seven steamers in course of construction or just being finished, and her Mitsubishi Dock Yard employs an average of 2,282 mechanics a day. An imperial iron foundry is about to be started, the demand for steel having doubled since the war with China, and it is believed that by the expenditure of \$6,500,000 the plant can be established on such a scale as to supply all the bessemer or open-hearth steel necessary for home consumption.

Failures of 1898 Thus Far.—*Dun's Review* reports a most gratifying showing in the matter of failures during the first quarter of the current year as compared with the same period of 1897. Following is the complete table:

Manufacturers.	1898.		1897.	
	No.	Liabilities	No.	Liabilities
Iron, foundries and nails.....	20	\$527,500	26	\$2,265,095
Machinery and tools.....	63	2,022,619	43	1,065,952
Woolens, carpets and knit goods.....	11	341,600	15	558,500
Cottons, lace and hosiery.....	7	464,800	20	476,000
Lumber, carpenters and coopers.....	96	2,623,529	115	2,515,547
Clothing and millinery.....	56	467,205	58	747,834
Hats, gloves and furs.....	11	190,400	9	47,484
Chemicals, drugs and paints.....	30	1,119,109	35	408,452
Printing and engraving.....	41	200,367	53	941,105
Milling and bakers.....	45	277,722	34	941,910
Leather, shoes and harness.....	46	606,588	52	1,238,482
Liquors and tobacco.....	33	598,637	45	2,217,998
Glass, earthenware and bricks.....	23	383,276	22	945,866
All other.....	205	2,586,660	251	7,416,919
Total manufacturing.....	687	\$12,410,012	778	\$22,412,144
Traders.				
General stores.....	484	\$2,652,033	505	\$2,696,485
Groceries, meats and fish.....	775	2,356,035	646	2,674,297
Hotels and restaurants.....	89	515,682	106	757,116
Liquors and tobacco.....	247	971,972	286	1,464,068
Clothing and furnishing.....	213	1,694,273	222	1,983,363
Dry goods and carpets.....	175	1,737,642	207	2,664,525
Shoes, rubbers and trunks.....	148	864,944	167	1,680,752
Furniture and crockery.....	98	806,532	107	945,497
Hardware, stoves and tools.....	99	1,082,038	175	1,518,884
Drugs and paints.....	145	618,540	149	735,644
Jewelry and clocks.....	69	450,618	88	1,656,802
Books and papers.....	36	372,546	58	448,536
Hats, furs and gloves.....	19	920,154	21	117,475
All other.....	329	2,418,827	336	4,643,100
Total trading.....	2,917	\$17,470,815	3,073	\$24,046,604
Brokers and transporters.....	83	1,829,594	81	1,549,163
Total commercial.....	3,687	\$31,710,421	3,932	\$48,007,911
Banking.....	24	1,697,966	74	12,744,650

34th Annual Statement OF THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY.

Chartered 1863. (Stock.) Life and Accident Insurance.

JAMES G. BATTERSON, Pres't.

Hartford, Conn., January 1, 1898.

Paid-Up Capital, - \$1,000,000

ASSETS.	
Real Estate.....	\$1,994,465 31
Cash on hand and in Bank.....	1,355,412 83
Loans on bond and mortgage, real estate.....	5,906,610 72
Interest accrued but not due.....	227,730 38
Loans on collateral security.....	945,400 94
Loans on this Company's Policies.....	1,106,580 51
Deferred Life Premiums.....	299,990 19
Premiums due and unreported on Life Policies.....	228,448 75
United States Bonds.....	14,000 00
State, county, and municipal bonds.....	3,612,646 78
Railroad stocks and bonds.....	4,664,205 75
Bank stocks.....	1,064,047 00
Other stocks and bonds.....	1,449,455 00
Total Assets.....	\$22,868,994 16

LIABILITIES.	
Reserve, 4 per cent., Life Department.....	\$16,650,062 00
Reserve for Re-insurance, Accident Department.....	1,365,817 22
Present value Installment Life Policies.....	436,288 00
Reserve for Claims resisted for Employers.....	299,066 30
Losses unadjusted.....	269,794 94
Life Premiums paid in advance.....	25,330 58
Special Reserve for unpaid taxes, rents, etc.....	110,000 00
Total Liabilities.....	\$19,146,359 04
Excess Security to Policy-holders.....	\$3,722,635 12
Surplus to Stockholders.....	\$2,722,635 12

STATISTICS TO DATE.

Life Department.	
Life Insurance in force.....	\$91,882,210 00
New Life Insurance written in 1897.....	14,507,249 00
Insurance issued under the Annuity Plan is entered at the commuted value thereof as required by law.	
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897.....	\$1,235,585 39
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864.....	13,150,350 57
Accident Department.	
Number Accident Claims paid in 1897.....	15,611
Whole number Accident Claims paid.....	307,990
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897.....	\$1,381,906 81
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864.....	21,210,095 96
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897.....	\$2,617,492 20
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864.....	34,360,626 53

GEORGE ELLIS, Secretary.

JOHN E. MORRIS, Ass't Secretary.

EDWARD V. PRESTON, Sup't of Agencies.

J. B. LEWIS, M.D., Surgeon and Adjutant.

SYLVESTER C. DUNHAM, Counsel.